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Editor's Notebook

Your Maryland

"Americans, of course, wanted no involvement in the French and Indian War because they did not want to fight in India. This led to the Stamp Act, where no stamps could be issued unless they bore the American mascot."

"Another final straw in the camel's pack was when Britain tried to bar colonists from crossing the Appalachian Mountains. Many Colonists became convicted patriots after reading Horse Sense by the escaped Englishman Thomas Paine."

These and other hilarious examples of history as absorbed by collegians of the semi-literate variety are available in *Non Campus Mentis*, a funny little book by Anders Henriksson of Shepherd College that landed in our office a couple of months ago. "Culled from term papers and blue-book exams" written by students, including those at "some of the most selective and academically renowned institutions in the United States and Canada," the book represents, according to Professor Henriksson, "an authentic voice of youth." In their defense, Henriksson argues that his samples illustrate "the ingenious and often comic ways we all attempt to make sense of information we can't understand because we have no context or frame of reference for it." Others might argue that most undergraduates are cheerfully doing what they've always done, allotting more time for beer than books.

The world, in other words, still turns smoothly on its axis, though we in the history business are not content. Academic historians are beginning to move beyond race, class, and gender studies, areas that have been thoroughly worked over, but much of the new, theoretical work—linguistics, material culture—is more complex, and delicate theory often does not find the sailing smooth in the vast and choppy waters beyond the sea wall. Still, some—by no means all—of the political intensity seems to have subsided in university ranks, while out in the field of popular history, by contrast, a tempest rages. The furor over *The Wind Done Gone* had barely died down when Joseph J. Ellis, original thinker and Pulitzer Prize-winning author of *American Sphinx* and *Founding Brothers*, confessed to creating an alter ego, "Rambo" Ellis. Over the years, Professor Ellis had engaged his students with tales of Vietnam when he in fact served out the war in college classrooms. (In this respect he more closely resembled *Rambo* star Sylvester Stallone himself, who passed up Da Nang and Cu Chi for work at a girls' school in Switzerland.) One-time professor Stephen E. Ambrose, a gifted writer who made millions creating historical and literary treasures on subjects

from Crazy Horse and Custer to Lewis and Clark to Omaha Beach and beyond, has also toppled from grace. A man with no desire to embellish his résumé but nevertheless one with a deadline, Ambrose admitted to cribbing a little more of another's prose than is decent. The howls of we-told-you-so rage within the walls of academe—where Ambrose's actions are rightly called plagiarism and are firmly and justly condemned—quickly elicited a similar confession, this from Doris Kearns Goodwin, who had taken another's words for her own in *The Fitzgeralds and the Kennedys*. Popular, or "public" history has been these last few months a tragedy in three acts, with who knows how many more in the wings.

Whither public history? Readers of this journal, lend us an ear—literally. In a few weeks, about the time you are receiving this issue of the magazine, we will begin a weekly five-minute radio spot on WYPR (88.1 FM), the former WJHU radio station. The terms of the agreement are generous on WYPR's part, and we greatly appreciate the opportunity to reach a wider audience. We hope to inform and entertain with news of books we've published, articles in the magazine, forthcoming exhibitions, educational programs, lectures, and of course, snippets of history—all the things the Maryland Historical Society contributes to the discovery and understanding of state and regional history. Currently, the program is scheduled to air at about 5:30 P.M. Thursday afternoon, though that might change between now and the first program. Listen for the chance to learn more about "Your Maryland."

After all, history, as we know, is never dull.

R.I.C.

Off Campus, Harford County, c.1860

Maryland's first colleges, Washington College in Chestertown (1782) and St. John's College in Annapolis (1784) opened their doors in the early years of the new republic. Antebellum collegians lived and worked in rigid discipline. Campus rules were strict. The liberal arts curriculum consisted of rhetoric, logic, philosophy, Greek, Latin, and the classics.

Nevertheless, college students then as now were free-spirited. These five posed for an unidentified photographer on a riverbank in Harford County in 1860. They are, from left to right, "Woodbridge (California), Strump (Maryland), Beckman (New Jersey), Dashiell (Maryland), and Holden (New Jersey)." (Maryland Historical Society.)

P.D.A.



Alexander Hamilton (1712-1756) followed his brother John to the Chesapeake and established a successful medical practice. (Maryland Historical Society.)

From Edinburgh to Annapolis: Dr. Alexander Hamilton's Colonial Maryland Medical Practice

ELAINE G. BRESLAW

Dr. Alexander Hamilton (1712–1756) of pre-revolutionary Annapolis, Maryland, complained to his brother in Edinburgh, Scotland, that the practice of medicine in the Chesapeake Bay area was a “toilsome and fatiguing business.”¹ Although the income was good in Annapolis, far superior to what he could expect in Edinburgh, it was earned under unpleasant working conditions in an intolerable climate from patients who paid their bills very reluctantly. To succeed in America, Hamilton had no choice but to adapt his Scottish medical training and urbane lifestyle to the distasteful Chesapeake Bay climate, disease environment, and dispersed population. In spite of his complaints and his initial shock at the desolate environment of a colonial society, in time this Scottish doctor found sufficient economic and social rewards to remain in the New World.

Very little work has been attempted on the nature of medical practice or health conditions in the Maryland area during the eighteenth century.² The importance of Scotland-trained doctors in the Bay area has been badly neglected. An article by George Frick and others on Dr. Andrew Scott of Prince George's County in Maryland touches on some of the distinctive aspects of medical treatments by a supposedly Glasgow (Scotland)-trained man in the southern part of the colony.³ Whitfield J. Bell's composite picture of the colonial physician gives some attention to Dr. Hamilton's reaction to colonial medical practices in the other colonies.⁴ Helen Brock, who compiled a list of colonial doctors trained in Scotland, has done the most work on the influence of the Edinburgh-trained personnel, many of whom settled in the Chesapeake Bay area. She concludes that, on the whole, they “set an example of reasonable practice by the standards of the day” but “did not introduce any new methods.”⁵ Their numbers were small and, guided by the Scottish common sense tradition, the immigrant doctors adapted to local conditions. The details of their adaptation have not been explored. This essay is an attempt to analyze part of that process of adaptation through the experiences of one Scotland-born and Scotland-educated physician who settled in Maryland, Dr. Alexander Hamilton.

Hamilton came from a distinguished and politically influential Scottish fam-

Professor Breslaw teaches American history at the University of Tennessee.



William Cullen (1710-1790). European medical students traveled great distances to learn Cullen's theories of nervous disorders being the cause of all disease. The learned physician's theories influenced western medicine for generations. (Courtesy Royal College of Physicians of Edinburgh.)

ily and was not related to the more famous Alexander Hamilton of the early Republic. His father, William Hamilton (1669–1732), was a professor of divinity at the University of Edinburgh. Two of his brothers followed their father's profession; another became an important publisher and bookseller. All were intellectual leaders. His oldest brother, John (1696–1768), who also trained in medicine, went to America and settled in southern Maryland in 1721. Both John and Alexander were motivated to emigrate because of the promised economic opportunities in America. They were not to be disappointed, even though in Alexander's case the experience was a challenge to his ingenuity and ability to adapt.

Dr. Hamilton is known to most historians of early America as the author of the *Itinerarium*, a journal of a trip through the northern colonies during the summer of 1744.⁶ To a smaller number of scholars, he is known for his creation and the sustaining of the Tuesday Club, a gentleman's society that served as an outlet for literary, musical, and philosophical interests in mid-eighteenth-century Maryland.⁷ This was not an unlikely activity for a professional man from Edinburgh. Physicians along with lawyers and ministers were the intellectual leaders of that Age of Improvement in early eighteenth-century Scotland.⁸ Hamilton would have considered it his duty to play a leading role in the development of a high British culture in what he considered a backward community.

Moreover, such sociability would attract patients, especially the kind who could pay his fees. Many a physician even in Scotland and England had to rely as much on his social skills as his medical knowledge, and Alexander Hamilton (known to friends as Sandy) had every reason to assume similar conditions in the colonies. High visibility in the elite social scene, essential to a successful practice, was especially important for any newcomer who lacked patrons or had not yet developed a reputation for medical ability.⁹ The immigrant doctor had no hesitation in draw-

Alexander Monro (Monro Primus) served as Hamilton's mentor during his medical training at Edinburgh. (Courtesy Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.)



ing on his knowledge of literature, philosophy, music, and art as well as his elegant manners and skill in conversation to build a lucrative practice.

Biographers have generally ignored Hamilton's medical work in America, leaving the impression that he may not have had much of a practice.¹⁰ There are few obvious sources of information on Hamilton's treatments and patients. He left no ledgers or medical treatises based on his therapies. His writings were almost exclusively in the form of belles lettres.¹¹ He seemed to be too busy being a social gadabout, marrying into one of the wealthiest families in Maryland, and writing satire for the budding literary lights of his time, to have devoted much time to medicine.¹²

Nonetheless, there is a small body of information, some very indirect, that does provide evidence of a continuing medical practice. His letters home refer regularly to the problems of establishing himself and supplying his apothecary

Old Surgeon's Hall, Edinburgh, 1697. The young Scot studied medicine at Edinburgh University Medical School before migrating to the Maryland colony. (Courtesy Royal College of Surgeons of Edinburgh.)



shop.¹³ In that correspondence, Hamilton comments on the financial difficulties of getting started in his profession. His travel diary, during the trip north in 1744, notes an occasional visit to a patient or advice to those who requested consultations for a variety of ailments: "cancer of the lip," rheumatism, "hystericks and vapours in women," the "ague," or "hysterical palpitations."¹⁴ Upton Scott, upon his arrival in Maryland in 1753, considered Hamilton "the most eminent Physician in Annapolis." He also observed Hamilton before his death in May 1756, attributing the doctor's last illness to "an Inflammation in his Kidneys," brought on while caring for a poor patient in drafty, unheated quarters in the middle of a cold winter.¹⁵ From these scattered references it seems that Hamilton had a continuing practice up until the last months of his life.

An even more important source of information on Hamilton's medical work is in the Maryland court records. The doctor sued some of his patients, or their estates after their deaths, to try to recover his fees. His bills, preserved among Maryland's legal records, provide some details about the diversity of patients, the drugs used, and the fees charged.¹⁶ Together the fragmentary sources—letters, legal documents, and a travel diary—can and do offer some insight into how a highly educated, university-trained physician adapted to conditions in the New World, that is, how he applied the learning from Scotland's medical establishment to the local conditions of the colonial Chesapeake environment.

Hamilton's education was typical for his time. After completing the university arts program at the age of seventeen in 1729, he began the first of several apprenticeships with apothecary-surgeons. From 1731 to 1734 he served his last apprenticeship with the anatomist-physician Alexander Monro, Primus, a student of the famed Dutchman Hermann Boerhaave in Leyden.¹⁷ Hamilton then enrolled in the university medical school. There he heard the lectures of the Galenic theorist, Dr. Rutherford, who emphasized an individualized approach to the prevention and treatment of diseases.¹⁸ Other professors introduced him to Thomas Sydenham's theories of disease that stressed the concept of specifics. That new teaching was moving physicians away from speculative medicine and the strict emphasis on humoral theory that had dominated medical thought for centuries.¹⁹

As a student he also reinforced his knowledge of human anatomy in an unusual dissection experience. Along with five other classmates (Alexander Russell, William Cumming, George Cleghorn, Archibald Taylor, and James Kennedy), he spent three weeks dissecting a cadaver.²⁰ Alexander Monroe's teaching method did not require or even expect students individually to dissect a whole corpse. Rather, Monro relied on a more didactic system of instruction, of demonstration and lecture, with body parts prepared in advance and replaced in the body cavity for display purposes.²¹ As Monro's apprentice, Hamilton probably had experience in the preparation of those body parts, but the opportunity for a student to dissect a whole cadaver was unusual. As a result of this collaboration, Hamilton and the

five others founded a student medical society that a few years later became the Royal Medical Society of Scotland.²²

He had contact with many other students whose names would soon be well known among the Anglo-American medical community. They included John Fothergill, the noted Quaker physician who settled in London; Robert Whytt, known for his early studies of the nervous system; and William Cullen, who was a major force in the shaping of Benjamin Rush's ideas.²³ Hamilton very early had contact with the men who would take the lead in articulating influential medical theories.

Hamilton was also trained in botany via the courses on *materia medica*. Not only would he be well versed in the exotica of the *Edinburgh Pharmacopoeia*, with its Galenic concoctions of dried excrement, blood, and urine, as well as the more modern chemical ingredients of mercury and sulfuric compounds, but from Charles Alston, the King's Botanist for Scotland, he learned the practical aspects of growing one's own herbs and flowers.²⁴ Once in America, the botanical aspects of his training were essential to supplying his apothecary shop. In Maryland he grew many of his own plants and experimented with some new types that were indigenous to America.²⁵

Clinical practice was also an important part of the curriculum. An infirmary for the poor had been started in Edinburgh in 1729, partly out of the benevolence that characterized the early Scottish enlightenment figures but also in response to Hermann Boerhaave's advocacy of clinical experience.²⁶ Hamilton attended rounds in the infirmary as his mentor, Dr. Monro, delivered lectures at the bedside of his patients and instructed the budding physicians to look for patterns that might signify the value of some specifics.²⁷ Hamilton was a strong supporter of the Edinburgh infirmary, and in an act of charity typical of the Scottish age of improvement, contributed funds while he was in America.²⁸

Hamilton completed his medical courses, delivered a thesis on bones, and received his degree in 1737. A year later, following his brother John's example and hoping to improve his economic outlook, he set off for America. It was obvious to the Hamilton family that Scotland was overstocked with physicians in an economy that was not growing fast enough to absorb all the new university graduates.²⁹ On the other hand, Annapolis in the late 1730s had only two university-trained physicians and a few others with lesser amounts of training. Alexander expected to compete successfully against this minimal competition and had high hopes that Maryland's leading town would support the expensive and elite medical care he expected to offer. Emigration was essential if he were to pursue his calling. His family agreed and encouraged him to go to America.³⁰

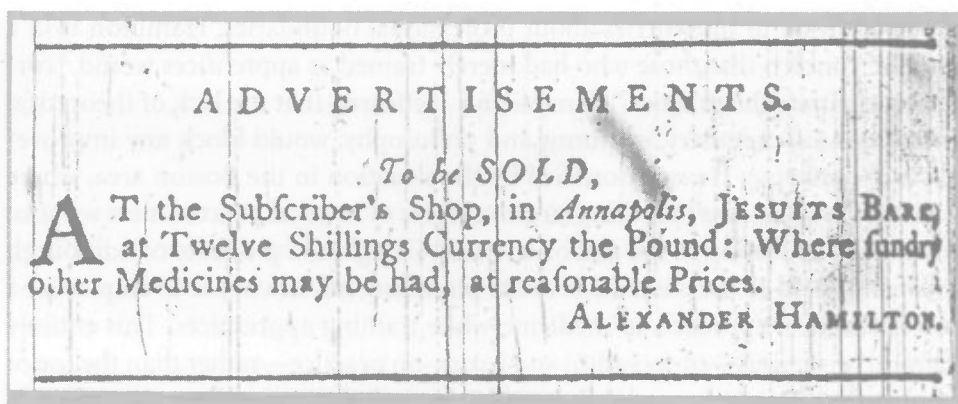
In spite of a lack of practical experience, when he arrived in Maryland in late 1738 or early 1739, Hamilton was rewarded almost immediately with a thriving practice.³¹ Within a year he boasted to a brother in Scotland that his earnings were

between twenty and forty shillings a day in local currency. That would have given him an annual income of about two hundred pounds sterling.³² He had, he said, "fallen into Excellent business," in America.³³ Many of his patients came from the elite planter-merchant class, but it was not limited to that group. Following Scottish custom, he served a varied clientele. The governor, Samuel Ogle, consulted him as did artisans and shopkeepers such as Thomas Holmes, a bricklayer, and the unnamed poor man whom Upton Scott said had contributed to Sandy's death.³⁴ Among his first patients was Stephen Bordley, prominent planter and a political force in both the lower house of the legislature and later as a member of the Governor's Council.³⁵

Many of Hamilton's patients lived in Annapolis, but some patients were scattered over the countryside. As his practice grew, he complained that although profitable, it required long trips by horseback to care for people and dispense medications.³⁶ He discovered that he could not consolidate his practice within the town, which had a population of less than nine hundred. He often rode ten or twelve miles beyond the confines of the city to visit the sick, and sometimes more than twenty miles, all on horseback exposed to the vagaries of the season and climate.³⁷ His long, strenuous hours were more a function of a scattered population than the volume of patients or the severity of their illnesses. This was in sharp contrast to Edinburgh with its more concentrated population of close to fifty thousand, where physicians could confine their practice to those within the walls of the town and call on patients within walking distance.³⁸

With the small population in town and with growing competition from other, less well-trained medical personnel, Hamilton's practice had to be diversified as well as geographically dispersed. Within a few years of Hamilton's arrival, there were at least six others who called themselves doctors in Annapolis, possibly even more who performed some doctoring within a twenty-mile radius of the town.³⁹ He considered only one man real competition, Dr. George Stuart, because he too had trained in Edinburgh. Stuart, the "Confirmed County Doctor," was paid an annual salary to care for the poor of Anne Arundel County, a position that Hamilton never shared.⁴⁰ Another physician similarly qualified, Dr. William Stevenson, had died shortly after Hamilton's arrival.⁴¹ The rest he thought were "but hangers on." Their patients were the "riff raff" who paid lower fees.⁴² Those lower fees, however, posed a threat to the university-trained doctor's livelihood.

To supplement his income, Hamilton operated an apothecary shop. Like many other American physicians, he ignored the British distinction between the physician and the apothecary and sold drugs directly to his patients.⁴³ The medical man who wanted to pursue a career in America, especially in the smaller towns, quickly learned to adapt to the imperatives of the new society, which had little room for distinctions between physician and apothecary. Colonies that attempted to legislate such differences by establishing a separate system of fees or an apprenticeship



Hamilton supplemented his income selling medicines. (Maryland Gazette, May 10, 1745.)

system were not successful, and in time American physicians came to resent those who violated the new local norms and abstained from drug-selling.⁴⁴ Maryland had made only one futile attempt to regulate fees in the seventeenth century but passed no laws to control medical practice or practitioners.⁴⁵ Hamilton was free to diversify his practice, intrude into the realm of shopkeeper or craftsman, and set his own fees according to market demand.

The medical training and apprenticeship systems in Scotland that had emphasized practical experience and familiarity with related medical techniques had prepared Hamilton with the knowledge and skills to act as apothecary and surgeon, as well as diagnostician. There were times when he considered his "Gallipots and vials" a much more lucrative source of income than treating patients.⁴⁶ It certainly was easier to sell drugs from his shop in Annapolis than to spend hours on horseback to attend to the sick in the countryside. Nonetheless, had he been able to maintain his status as a gentleman-physician without sullyng his hands with the tradesman's or craftsman's occupations, Dr. Hamilton probably would have been satisfied. But conditions in Maryland made that an impossible goal. He grudgingly adapted to the exigencies of the New World.

The same absence of regulations that permitted Hamilton to diversify also permitted the untrained to compete with him in the marketplace. Even though he tolerated the looser conventions of the medical profession in the colonies, Hamilton found the unrestrained competition extremely distasteful. He sympathized with the disdain of other European-trained medical men for the apprentice-trained surgeon-apothecaries who made up the largest part of all colonial medical people.⁴⁷ An element of Hamilton's objection to their practices was an elitist disdain that ordinary men could be allowed to share a profession with the university gentleman, but just as important was the fact that those "empyricks," as he called them, were undercutting physician fees.⁴⁸

In addition to his worries about professional boundaries, Hamilton held a genuine concern that those who had merely trained as apprentices would, "corrupt and vitiate the practice" of medicine. He feared that the lack of theoretical knowledge, of chemistry, anatomy, and philosophy, would block any improvement in medicine. He was horrified by the situation in the Boston area, where William Douglass was preparing large numbers of medical practitioners without any formal education in the arts or sciences. Douglass, a graduate of Edinburgh University, held all the credentials of the physician, but he chose to emphasize a non-theoretical approach to medicine while training apprentices. This entirely "clinical" emphasis—observation and hands-on practice—rather than the use of laboratory experiments and theoretical knowledge, Hamilton thought too one-sided and potentially dangerous. According to Dr. Hamilton, Douglass's students were unqualified to deal with disease and health because they had "no knowledge or learning but what they have acquired by bare experience."⁴⁹ But in the absence of professional regulations or a sufficient number of university-trained personnel, there was little men like Hamilton could do except complain to others with similar concerns.

In the meanwhile Hamilton continued his own education in medicine, his wide reading noted in offhand comments in the travel diary and other writings. He received and read a medical journal from Edinburgh that kept him up-to-date on the newest publications and medical discoveries.⁵⁰ While traveling, he sought out the company of physicians in order to discuss medical matters. With John Clerk of Boston, one of the founding members of the first medical society in America—a man he described as a "gentleman of fine natural genius"—he discussed some points of "physick." In Philadelphia he reported having a great deal of medical discourse with Dr. Thomas Cadwallader. At other times meetings with educated doctors offered opportunities to extend his knowledge of experiments with microscopes. Sometimes efforts to elicit information on local medical practice were disappointing, and he complained bitterly of the superficial knowledge of doctors in upstate New York. He did not condemn all uneducated medical practitioners, only those who pretended to a knowledge that they did not have. Thus Hamilton did not hesitate to show respect for the experiences of a midwife he met in Maryland and to take her knowledge seriously.⁵¹

While doctors were poorly trained generally and the educated were in short supply, sickness and poor health were as widespread in the Chesapeake Bay area as in Scotland. Doctors were kept busy if not curing at least comforting their patients. Edinburgh, however, did not fully prepare Dr. Hamilton for the types of health problems he would have to treat in his new home. In Scotland physicians and surgeons faced the most devastating illnesses during the winter months and dealt mainly with respiratory and lung diseases. Mortality rose rapidly after November and reached a peak about April. The most common cause of death in

Scotland was "consumption," followed by some unspecified fevers that probably included influenza and pneumonia, and then smallpox.⁵²

Respiratory diseases were not as much of a problem in the Chesapeake Bay area as in the old country. In January 1750 an epidemic of fatal "winter fever" received surprised reactions especially when forty people died in a period of months in Maryland's northern and eastern shore counties.⁵³ John Duffy identified a series of influenza attacks in the colonies during the three winters between 1747 and 1750. Locally the complaints were called variously winter fever, epidemic catarrh, or putrid pleurisy and were rampant from South Carolina to Massachusetts.⁵⁴ The Maryland "winter fever" came at the end of those epidemics.

This kind of winter complaint was unusual for the colony. Rather than respiratory infections, malaria was of greater concern, and every summer until early fall, the sickly season, many suffered from that "fever." Seldom fatal of itself during those years, recurrent bouts of malaria often weakened the victim so that he or she became susceptible to more fatal illnesses. Darrett and Anita Rutman have suggested that the prevalence of malaria in the Chesapeake was the major cause of the low birth rate, short lifespan, and poor health during the eighteenth century.⁵⁵ The often reported cases of "seasoning" in the area were most likely a result of malaria attacks.

Dr. Hamilton is a good case in point. He suffered his first attack of the seasoning during the summer of 1739 but recovered after being treated by his brother with a dose of the "bark." Taken from the cinchona tree, the bark contained a substance similar to quinine and was effective against malaria. Unfortunately, it was used indiscriminately against all fevers and as a purgative.⁵⁶

Following the practice of others, Hamilton prescribed this "Jesuits bark" for a variety of unspecified illnesses and did a brisk business selling it in his apothecary shop.⁵⁷ He had prescribed several doses of it for John Burle, one of his patients, in the middle of December, a time when the mosquito that transmitted the disease was not active.⁵⁸ If Burle's fever was of some other origin, the "bark" would not have helped him.

Hamilton diagnosed the presence of a new type of intermittent fever during the summer of 1739 that may have been a more virulent form of malaria and the dosages used too weak to be effective. Always thinking in terms of specifics, he thought it a new type of fever because patients did not respond to the usual medications.⁵⁹ As Sydenham had taught, it was the disease, not the patient that was the problem.

Unlike Scotland, smallpox did not cause any particular concern in the Chesapeake at the time of Hamilton's arrival, quite possibly because of the small and scattered population. It may have been a deadly killer in the more densely settled northerly colonies, competing only with measles for the fear it engendered and the toll on lives, but it was not so in Maryland.⁶⁰ The colony had seen very few cases since the seventeenth century, and although neighboring Philadelphia had suf-

When the World has seen the Success that attended the giving of the Small-Pox by Inoculation, not one in a Hundred dying of it, or being marked by it, in any degree; it must be strange Weakness or Negligence in Parents, not to Inoculate all their Children, who have not had that fatal Distemper in the natural Way.

There can be but two Reasons given for not doing this; the one, That Persons, who are Inoculated, are still liable to Infection in the natural Way; the other, That it is great Presumption, and a tempting of Providence, to give Children a Distemper, which they may never have.

A smallpox epidemic swept through the colony, provoking passionate debates about the safety of inoculation. (Maryland Gazette, January 9, 1751.)

fered in 1730–31 and Williamsburg, Virginia, in 1737, smallpox had not crossed over the Maryland border.⁶¹ The threat of an epidemic during the summer of 1739 did not materialize.⁶² Not until 1747 did Maryland experience an epidemic of the kind that had plagued other colonies and Scotland.⁶³ Hamilton, therefore, would have faced a smallpox threat in Maryland only once, but he has left no record of the patients he treated in 1747.

He did leave a record of his attitude toward prevention and treatment. The most effective action available against smallpox was inoculation, a technique that involved injecting people with the live virus by putting some of the pus of an infected person into that of a healthy person through a scratch in the skin. Even though he knew about inoculation, it is likely that Hamilton had not had any direct experience with the procedures during his university years. Although the procedure was generally accepted by the British medical profession by the 1730s while Hamilton was still in medical school, it was not in widespread use. By 1729 fewer than nine hundred persons had been inoculated in all of England and Scotland.⁶⁴ After 1730 even fewer people were inoculated because the disease itself had become quiescent. There was little impetus to inoculate a population no longer under immediate threat.⁶⁵ Nonetheless medical writers, including Hamilton's mentor, Alexander Monro, approved of the practice.⁶⁶

By the late 1730s smallpox was again rearing its head in Scotland. Notices in the Scottish newspapers for 1738 and 1739 reported that the disease was the third cause of death following "consumption" and "fevers." An increasing incidence of epidemics in the 1740s throughout Britain led to greater interest in the practice of inoculation.⁶⁷ Hamilton had escaped the worst of a smallpox epidemic in Scotland in 1740, a season of illness that ravaged his family.⁶⁸ By that time he was in America.

Direct experience with inoculation then came with Hamilton's residence in Maryland. The danger of an epidemic was ever present in the colonies where relative isolation from European diseases meant little exposure to Old World contagions. Hamilton himself had contracted smallpox as a child and carried signs of the disease on his face.⁶⁹ But in a population that did not experience smallpox as a children's disease, adults were always susceptible and the mortality rate, if not higher, made a more dramatic impact. The danger of smallpox brought by an immigrant was a continual threat, and the colonies suffered regular epidemics with high fatality rates of about one in seven in that virgin population unless inoculated.⁷⁰

But inoculation carried its own dangers and patients could communicate the disease to others. In Maryland, inoculation and isolation measures were taken up during the 1747 epidemic.⁷¹ After the crisis had passed, in preparation for another such plague, an inoculation hospital was established in Annapolis in 1750 to quarantine patients during the treatment. The local newspaper, the *Gazette*, encouraged the use of the new hospital as a safety device to protect the general public against the possibility of infection from those undergoing the procedure.⁷²

Hamilton, receptive to medical procedures that had some record of protecting health even when he did not know why they worked, energetically supported inoculation as a means of preventing epidemics. His commitment became obvious during a debate on the procedure in Philadelphia in 1751. Dr. Adam Thomson, another graduate of the University of Edinburgh medical school, became embroiled in a controversy with Philadelphia physicians over the inoculation techniques he had been using. Hamilton was moved to defend his friend in Philadelphia.⁷³

Thomson had published a *Discourse on the Preparation of the Body for the Small Pox: and the Manner of Receiving the Infection* in 1750, advocating the use of mercury, antimony, and quinine as a means of preparing the patient and using the leg as a site for the operation rather than the arm as was then common practice. His reasoning made sense given the medical theories of the time—that it was better to draw the disease away from the “vicera” or “more dangerous part of the body to the outer parts.” The other part of the therapy supposedly helped the patient if he did get sick, which happened quite often. The Scottish physician, Monro, had recommended quinine for that purpose; Thomson merely added mercury and antimony because they were used generally as a supposed cure for smallpox.⁷⁴ It is hard to imagine that giving anyone mercury could have helped or that quinine would have any effect on those susceptible to the disease, but such was the nature of eighteenth-century medicine.

Several Philadelphia doctors objected to the pamphlet, and Dr. John Kearsley, who apparently was not convinced about the value of inoculation in any form and rejected the concept of specifics, became the main spokesman for that group. He attacked Thomson for the premature publication of such findings as sheer vanity

on the part of an inexperienced doctor who had no right to foist an unproven method on a gullible public.⁷⁵ The fact that inoculation had been proven time after time to be an effective preventive, in spite of its potentially fatal side effects in a small number of patients, had not moved Kearsley to accept the procedure.

Part of Kearsley's objection had to do with a personal conflict. Thomson had only arrived in Philadelphia in 1748 and was therefore a newcomer to his practice even though he had lived in southern Maryland for more than ten years previously. Kearsley, on the other hand, was a more established resident, having been in Philadelphia since 1711. The relationship between the Philadelphia doctors was strained by Thomson's apparent lack of deference to the older man. Thomson further annoyed Kearsley by refusing to sell drugs in protest of the American custom that was leading to the obliteration of distinctions between apothecary and physician.⁷⁶ The purist and the pragmatist thus locked horns in Philadelphia.

Into this fray walked Dr. Hamilton of Annapolis, offering his services in defense of research, smallpox inoculation, and his friend, whom he had met as a student at the University of Edinburgh.⁷⁷ Hamilton attacked Kearsley, who did not have a university education, for his lack of professional qualifications, condemning him as a mere "empiric," unlettered and ignorant. His supporters Hamilton contemptuously dubbed mere "Stage-Doctors," who were putting on a show with only a pretense of knowledge.³⁰ On the other hand, Hamilton defended Thomson's actions on the grounds that the method worked and praised him for a willingness to improve on a useful technique. He argued that there was no evidence that Thomson's method would prove to be "Hurtful." Additionally, drawing on his own training in Scotland, Hamilton argued for the use of a "specific" as the most effective approach to the eradication of disease.⁷⁸

On a practical level, the experiences in Hamilton's community bear out his evaluation of inoculation. The winter after his death, during the 1756–57 epidemic, a hundred people were inoculated in Annapolis, all of whom recovered, while of those who caught the smallpox the "natural" way, one out of every six died.⁷⁹ It was another dramatic illustration of the value of inoculation to control an epidemic. So effective was the practice that during the next epidemic in Maryland during the winter of 1765, Dr. Richard Tootell offered to inoculate the poor without charge as a public health service.⁸⁰

Dr. Hamilton could cope with these new diseases and therapies and could tolerate the presence of under-trained doctors, but he found it most difficult to accept the American method of paying bills, that is, the expectation of what he called, "large & long credit."⁸¹ Little cash was available in the colony, and most people purchased goods and services on credit at rates driven by inflated local paper currency with payment postponed sometimes for years. In frustration he turned to the courts to collect his bills. Most of the time delinquent clients, especially at his apothecary shop, paid up after being threatened with court action.

*To be Sold cheap, at the Subscriber's
Shop, in Annapolis,
VARIETY of fresh Drugs
and Medicines, CHEMICAL and GALENI
CAL.
Alexander Hamilton.*

The Annapolis apothecary shop thrived as Hamilton's practice grew. (Maryland Gazette, July 2, 1752.)

John Burle was one who did not. Burle died in April 1749 still in arrears to Hamilton for bills between December 1745 and January 1748 in the amount of 10 pounds, 16 shillings.⁸² Four other cases also made their way through the court system before Hamilton could collect his fees.

The records of his court cases do tell us something about the fees he charged for medical services. For one, they were high compared to more northerly urban areas in the colonies although not out of line with those charged by other Maryland doctors. Hamilton's fees ranged from two shillings and sixpence to a high of fifteen shillings in local currency for visits. The differential was due to distance. Typically doctors expected to be paid more the greater the distance traveled. He charged John Burle and William Peele both fifteen shillings each time he visited them or their families. William Foard was charged ten shillings and James Wilson was expected to pay two shillings and sixpence for a bleeding quite possibly performed in the apothecary shop because there was no fee for a "Visit."⁸³

These charges were much higher than those found in New York City and Boston, where fees within the confines of the cities were between three shillings and five shillings and sixpence.⁸⁴ Generally rural doctors charged less than urban medical men, but Hamilton considered himself a town doctor, even though he treated rural families, thus justifying his higher fees. Other Annapolis doctors charged fees similar to Hamilton's. John Shaw's fee for visiting a planter's servant was ten shillings. William Stevenson, another Scottish-trained doctor, also charged ten shillings for a visit to the town schoolmaster James Downie in 1736.⁸⁵

It is possible that the somewhat higher Annapolis costs resulted from the inflation that beset the colony during those years. Values were usually expressed in local money rather than sterling and, in spite of the fact that Parliament had set a ratio for local currency to sterling, it varied depending on the colony. Hamilton

had complained of the high cost of living in Maryland that had forced him to raise the prices at his apothecary shop. His charges for visits probably reflected the same depreciated currency.⁸⁶ When that inflation is taken into account, his fees come closer to the cost of professional care in the northern cities.

One should not generalize about a colonial medical practice from Hamilton's few court cases even though they involved some twenty-five people—wives, children, black slaves, and white servants living in five households. There is no way to tell if these patients are typical of his practice. He often blistered patients, but there is only one incidence of bleeding in the court records. It is possible that he bled the more dependable bill payers more often than the delinquents. What is obvious is that in common with other doctors in the colonies, Hamilton tended to rely on Galenic humoral theories regarding the use of purges and stimulants—standard astringents, diaphoretics, anodynes, and emollients.⁸⁷ He included jaleps as a purgative, emetics to cause vomiting, as well as sweet-tasting electuaries for various ailments.⁸⁸ He advertised that he sold sundry medicines in his shop, a variety of "Drugs and fresh Medicines chemical and Galenical," many of which were imported.⁸⁹ At the same time he applied specific therapies for distinct diseases—approving of smallpox inoculation, quinine for summer fevers, and mercury for syphilis.

Hamilton's adaptation of Scottish ways to Chesapeake conditions required great flexibility in regard to working hours and conditions and in learning about new diseases. He did not hesitate to adapt to the litigious American way of doing business, using the legal system to protect his interests. He raised prices to conform to currency differences and charged what the market would bear for his services. But therapeutic practice varied little from the traditional. When possible he continued to follow Scottish conventions. He willingly served the poor as well as the wealthy, adjusting his therapies to individual conditions as well as specific disease entities. Continuing the tradition of his Edinburgh mentors, he was open-minded about medical discoveries and receptive to new therapies that promised improvement with the least harm.

NOTES

1. Alexander Hamilton to Robert Hamilton, June 12, 1742, in Elaine G. Breslaw, "A Perilous Climb to Social Eminence: Dr. Alexander Hamilton and His Creditors," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 92 (1997): 445.
2. A major exception is the work by Darret B. and Anita H. Rutman, "Of Agues and Fevers: Malaria in the Early Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 33 (1976): 31–60. See also Lorena S. Walsh and Russell R. Menard, "Death in the Chesapeake: Two Life Tables for Men in Early Colonial Maryland," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 69 (1974): 211–27. An older and somewhat superficial examination of Maryland health conditions is Douglas G. Carroll, "Medicine in Maryland in the 17th and 18th Centuries," *Maryland State Medical Journal*, 20

- (1971): 52–57, reprinted in Douglas Gordon Carroll, *Medicine in Maryland, 1634–1900* (Baltimore: Library of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of the State of Maryland, 1984), 7–12.
3. George F. Frick, James L. Reveal, C. Rose Broome, and Melvin L. Brown, “The Practice of Dr. Andrew Scott of Maryland and North Carolina,” *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 82 (1987): 123–41. The authors conclude on the basis of indirect evidence that Scott was trained in Glasgow. More work has been done in the past on Virginia. See Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Eighteenth Century* (Richmond, Va.: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1931). Also of interest is Raphael Semmes’s chapter on “Sickness, Chirurgery, and Burials,” in his *Crime and Punishment in Early Maryland* (1931, repr.; Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 232–58.
 4. Whitfield J. Bell, “A Portrait of the Colonial Physician,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 44 (1970): 504–12.
 5. C. Helen Brock, “Scotland and American Medicine,” in William R. Brock, *Scotus Americanus: A Survey of the Sources for Links between Scotland and America in the Eighteenth Century* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1982), 114–26. The quote is on page 125. See also Appendix B, “Scottish Doctors Practising in America and American Doctors Educated in Scotland,” 174–91.
 6. *Gentleman's Progress: The Itinerarium of Dr. Alexander Hamilton, 1744*, ed. Carl Bridenbaugh (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1948). Hereafter referred to as *Itinerarium*.
 7. On the club see *Records of the Tuesday Club of Annapolis, 1745–56*, Elaine G. Breslaw, ed. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988) and Alexander Hamilton, *History of the Ancient and Honorable Tuesday Club*, Robert Micklus, ed., 3 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990). Hereafter referred to as *Records and History*. Many works deal with Hamilton’s cultural contributions, but see especially Elaine G. Breslaw, “Wit, Whimsy, and Politics: The Uses of Satire by the Tuesday Club of Annapolis Maryland, 1744–56,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 32 (1975): 295–306; J. A. Leo Lemay, *Men of Letters in Colonial Maryland* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1972), 213–56; Robert Micklus, *The Comic Genius of Dr. Alexander Hamilton* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990); and John Barry Talley, *Secular Music in Colonial Annapolis: The Tuesday Club, 1745–56* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988).
 8. Richard Sher, *Church and University in the Scottish Enlightenment: The Moderate Literati of Edinburgh* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 151–52; Douglas Sloan, *Scottish Enlightenment and the American College Ideal* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1971), 7–9.
 9. Dorothy Porter and Roy Porter, *Patient's Progress: Doctors and Doctoring in Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, England: Polity Press, 1989), 118–21; R. L. Emerson, “Medical Men, Politicians and the Medical Schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1685–1830,” in *William Cullen and the Eighteenth-Century Medical World*, A. Doig, J. P. S. Ferguson, I. A. Milne and R. Passmore, eds. (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993), 135.
 10. For example see Douglas G. Carroll, “Alexander Hamilton,” *Maryland State Medical Journal*, 21 (1972): 55–60.
 11. The most important secondary sources on Hamilton’s writings are Lemay, *Men of Letters*, 213–56; Micklus, *Comic Genius*; and Wilson Somerville, *The Tuesday Club of Annapolis (1745–1756) as Cultural Performance* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996).
 12. Hamilton married Margaret Dulany in 1747 but they had no children. *Maryland Gazette*, June 1, 1747 and May 13, 1756.
 13. Most of Hamilton’s correspondence is in the Dulany Papers at the Maryland Historical Society. Another major group of letters is in the Thomas of Banchory Collection in the New College Library of the University of Edinburgh.

14. *Itinerarium*, 167, 171, 189, and 195.
15. Upton Scott to George Perigny, August 28, 1809, in *Records*, 589, 590. Whitfield Bell suggests that because few cases of medical treatment of the poor were reported, most medical men as gentlemen had little knowledge or sympathy for the poor ("A Portrait of the Colonial Physician," 511). This obviously was not the case with Hamilton.
16. Unfortunately those few extant documents give only a sketchy picture of Hamilton's medical therapies. In the legal records, there are only five court cases relating to the care of his patients. These cases are discussed in the text.
17. Alexander Monro, Primus, "Record Book of Students, 1720–1749," Edinburgh University Library MS. Erwin H. Ackernecht, *A Short History of Medicine* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), 130.
18. Rutherford taught the traditional theory that diseases were symptoms due to an imbalance of the bodily fluids and that the fluids had to be brought into balance through a therapy that fit the prescription to the individual patient. D. B. Horn, *A Short History of the University of Edinburgh, 1556–1889* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1967), 56–57.
19. Lawrence, "Early Edinburgh Medicine," 82–83. On the curriculum, see also C. G. Drummond, "Adam Drummond of Megginch, Surgeon-Apothecary (1679–1758)," *Scottish Genealogist*, 19 (1972): 17; John Struthers, *Historical Sketch of the Edinburgh Anatomical School* (Edinburgh: MacLachlan and Stewart, 1867), 14–19; Comrie, "Medicine to 1870," and Alexander Miles, "Surgery," in *Edinburgh's Place in Scientific Progress* (Edinburgh: Chambers, Ltd., 1921), 192–93 and 213–14.
20. Thomas Joseph Pettigrew, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Late John Coakley Lettsom*, 3 vols. (London: Nichols, Son, and Bentley, 1817), 3:289; James Gray, *History of the Royal Medical Society, 1737–1937* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1952), 15–16; John Coakley Lettsom, *Life of Dr. John Fothergill, Prefixed to His Works* (London, 1784), cxxvi.
21. Christopher Lawrence, "Alexander Monro, Primus and the Edinburgh Manner of Anatomy," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 62 (1988): 199–203.
22. Gray, *Royal Medical Society*, 15–31.
23. R. Hingston Fox, *Dr. John Fothergill and His Friends* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1919), 10–16; C. J. Lawrence, "Early Edinburgh Medicine: Theory and Practice," in *The Early Years of the Edinburgh Medical School, A Symposium*, Robert G. W. Anderson and Allen D. C. Simpson, eds. (Edinburgh: Royal Scottish Museum, 1976), 82–88; J. M. Comrie, "Medicine to 1870," in *Edinburgh's Place in Scientific Progress*, extracts from *Origin and Development of the Edinburgh Medical School* (Edinburgh: Chambers, Ltd., 1921), 195; Whitfield J. Bell, "Some American Students of 'That Shining Oracle of Physic,' Dr. William Cullen of Edinburgh, 1755–1766," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 94 (1950): 275–81.
24. Harold R. Fletcher and William H. Brown, *Royal Botanic Garden Edinburgh, 1670–1970* (Edinburgh: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1970), 38–40.
25. Alexander Hamilton to Robert Hamilton, physician in Glasgow, September 2, 1743, Manuscript Department, Maryland Historical Society.
26. On the clinical activities in the Edinburgh Infirmary see P. M. Eves Walton, "The Early Years of the Infirmary," in Anderson and Simpson, eds., *Early Years*, 72–80; Guenter B. Risse, *Hospital Life in Enlightenment Scotland: Care and Teaching at the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 25–30; David Henderson, et al., "Archeological Evidence for 18th-Century Medical Practice in the old Town of Edinburgh: Excavations at 18 Infirmary Street and Surgeons, Square," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 126 (1996): 929–41. On Boerhaave's influence on medicine in Scotland see J. B. Morrell, "The Edinburgh Town Council and Its University, 1717–1766," in Anderson and Simpson,

- eds., *Early Years*, 50–51; Lois N. Magner, *History of Medicine* (New York: Marcel Dekker, Inc., 1992), 226–27.
27. P. M. Walton, "Early Years of the Infirmary," in Anderson and Simpson, eds., *Early Years*, 77; Comrie, "Medicine to 1870," 201; Anand C. Chitnis, "Drummond," in R. H. Campbell and Andrew S. Skinner, eds., *Origins and Nature of the Scottish Enlightenment* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 1982), 94.
 28. Alexander Hamilton to P[rovost] G[eorge] D[rummon]d, April 22, 1742, Manuscript Department, Maryland Historical Society.
 29. R. L. Emerson describes the situation facing newly minted physicians in "Medical Men, Politicians and the Medical Schools of Glasgow and Edinburgh, 1685–1830."
 30. David Smith to Alexander Hamilton, April 27, 1743, Manuscript Department, Maryland Historical Society.
 31. There are no references to a Scottish practice in his letters or other writings. Additionally, he remained in Scotland only about a year after receiving his medical degree. His experience was probably limited to the clinical work at the Edinburgh Infirmary while a student and hands-on activities during his earlier apprenticeships discussed below.
 32. Alexander Hamilton to "Dear Brother," August 20, 1739, in Breslaw, "Perilous Climb," 445. The forty shillings current money would have amounted to eighteen shillings sterling.
 33. Alexander Hamilton to Robert Hamilton, November 5, 1740, New College Library (Edinburgh).
 34. Aubrey C. Land, *The Dulanys of Maryland: A Biographical Study of Daniel Dulany the Elder (1685–1753) and Daniel Dulany, the Younger (1722–1797)* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1968), 208. Holmes was one of those whose estates he sued. Anne Arundel County Court Judgments, I.B. No. 4, 717, Maryland State Archives.
 35. Stephen Bordley to Matthias Harris, September 12, 1749, Bordley Letterbook, Manuscript Department, Maryland Historical Society. On Bordley's career see Edward C. Papenfuse, Alan F. Day, David W. Jordan, and Gregory A. Stiverson, *Biographical Dictionary of the Maryland Legislature, 1635–1789*, 2 vols. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979–85), q.v.
 36. Alexander Hamilton to Robert Hamilton, June 12, 1742, in Breslaw, "Perilous Climb," 449.
 37. Alexander Hamilton to Gavin Hamilton, June 13, 1739, Manuscript Department, Maryland Historical Society. Paul G. E. Clemens, *The Atlantic Economy and Colonial Maryland's Eastern Shore* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 143, describes what he calls the "relaxation of distance and time" as an essential part of life in tidewater Maryland.
 38. Alexander Law, *Education in Edinburgh in the Eighteenth Century* (London: University of London Press, Ltd., 1965), 10; William Ferguson, *Scotland: 1689 to the Present* (Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd, 1968), 85.
 39. Helen Brock to Phebe Jacobsen, January 22, 1981, letter in Maryland State Archives; Edward C. Papenfuse, *In Pursuit of Profit: The Annapolis Merchants in the Era of the American Revolution, 1763–1805* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 14.
 40. Anne Arundel County Court Judgments, I.B. No. 5 (1744–45), 123, Maryland State Archives.
 41. Stephen Bordley to John Gibson, July 13, 1739, Manuscript Department, Maryland Historical Society.
 42. Alexander Hamilton to Robert Hamilton, August 20, 1739, New College Library (Edinburgh).
 43. *Maryland Gazette*, May 10, 1745. The apothecary, because he worked with his hands, was considered merely a tradesman in the English guild system, as the surgeon or chirurgeon was classified as a craftsman. In Scotland the surgeon/apothecary distinction did not yet exist.

They would not be separated until 1788. See Drummond, "Adam Drummond," 16. Within both the Scottish and English systems, the major task of the university-trained "physician" was to diagnose illnesses through his insight into the internal workings of the body and to recommend treatment. The actual hands-on work of manipulating the outer parts of the body, like setting bones or bleeding people was in the realm of the surgeon and drugs were mixed and dispensed by the apothecary. The regulations separating the physician from the surgeon and apothecary helped to maintain both professional and social distinctions that protected the income of the diagnosing physicians. See Richard Harrison Shryock, *Medicine and Society in America, 1600–1860* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1960), 11.

44. Shryock, *Medicine*, 10 and 13; Bell, "Portrait," 497–517. On the differences between European and American medical practice, see also Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Americans: The Colonial Experience* (New York: Random House, 1958), 207–40.

45. Thomas Bacon, *Laws of Maryland* (Annapolis, 1768) includes no licensing requirements in these laws. See also George B. Scriven, "Maryland Medicine in the Seventeenth Century," *Maryland Historical Magazine*, 57 (1962): 29–46.

46. Alexander Hamilton to John Balfour, September 29, 1743, Manuscripts Department, Maryland Historical Society.

47. Shryock, *Medicine*, 9; Bell, "Portrait," 511. See also Whitfield J. Bell Jr., "Medical Practice in Colonial America," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 31 (1957): 442–53.

48. *Itinerarium*, 65.

49. On this issue see Brooke Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735–1798* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 38; Shryock, *Medicine*, 66; Boorstin, *Americans*, 236. For Hamilton's comments and the quotes above, see *Itinerarium*, 65, 117.

50. *Itinerarium*, 137.

51. For these conversations see *Itinerarium*, 19 (Dr. Thomas Bond), 21 (Dr. Phineas Bond), 31, 187–88 (Dr. Thomas Cadwallader), 37 (Dr. Farquar), 52, 65–67 (Albany doctors), 103 (Dr. Thomas Moffat), 131, 134 (John Clerk), 156 (microscopes), 198–99 (midwife, Mrs. Harrison).

52. *Scots Magazine* (Edinburgh), January 1739; *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh), January 2, 1738. For an analysis of diseases and health conditions in Edinburgh at a slightly later time (after 1750) see Risse, *Hospital Life*, 119–76.

53. *Maryland Gazette*, January 24, 1750; John Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953), 196.

54. Duffy, *Epidemics in Colonial America*, 192–96.

55. Rutman, "Of Agues and Fevers," 31–60. On the effects of malaria see also Peter Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1974), 79–88.

56. The "bark" was first used by the Spanish in the seventeenth century, derived from a tree grown in Peru. Although discovered by an Augustine monk, the English called it Jesuit's bark. Spain maintained a successful monopoly of the trade and kept the identification of the tree a secret until the Dutch found a way to transplant it in Java in the nineteenth century. Geoffrey Marks and William K. Beatty, *The Medical Garden* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971), 57–77.

57. *Maryland Gazette*, May 3 and 10, 1745.

58. Alexander Hamilton vs. John Burle's estate, Anne Arundel County Court Judgments, 1748–50, I.S.B. No. 1, 587–89, Maryland State Archives.

59. Stephen Bordley to Matthias Harris, September 12, 1739, Manuscript Department, Maryland Historical Society.

60. Duffy, *Epidemics*, 168–75; Ernest Caulfield, “Early Measles Epidemics in America,” *Yale Journal of Biology and Medicine*, 15 (1943): 531–56. On Scotland see *Scots Magazine*, January 1739 and January 1741.
61. Duffy, *Epidemics*, 78–82; Elihu S. Riley, *Ancient City: A History of Annapolis in Maryland, 1649–1887* (Annapolis: Record Printing Office, 1887), 119.
62. Stephen Bordley to John Gibson, July 14, 1739, Manuscripts Department, Maryland Historical Society.
63. *Maryland Gazette*, January. 16, 1752.
64. David Van Zwanenberg, “The Suttons and the Business of Inoculation,” *Medical History*, 22 (1978): 71–72; R. P. Stearns, “Remarks upon the Introduction of Inoculation for Smallpox in England,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 24 (1950): 116–22; Donald R. Hopkins, *Princes and Peasants: Smallpox in History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983), 49.
65. Genevieve Miller, “Smallpox Inoculation in England and America: A Reappraisal,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 13 (1956): 488–92. See also her larger study of inoculation practices in *The Adoption of Inoculation for Smallpox in England and France* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1957).
66. Alexander Monro, *An Account of the Inoculation of the Small Pox in Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1765).
67. Miller, “Smallpox,” 492.
68. *Caledonian Mercury* (Edinburgh), January 2, 1738; *Scots Magazine* (Edinburgh), January 1739; Mary Hamilton to Alexander Hamilton, September 8, 1740, Manuscripts Department, Maryland Historical Society.
69. *Itinerarium*, 80.
70. Ola Elizabeth Winslow, *A Destroying Angel: The Conquest of Smallpox in Colonial Boston* (Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1974) is an excellent description of the issues related to inoculation in the colonies. See also John B. Blake, “Inoculation Controversy in Boston, 1721–1722,” *New England Quarterly*, 25 (1952): 489–506. Although the fatality rates in London were possibly higher than those in the colonies, Duffy, *Epidemics*, 22, notes that “because of its irregular appearance in the colonies, the disorder was far more dreaded than in England.”
71. Duffy, *Epidemics*, 85.
72. *Maryland Gazette*, January 9, 1751, March 26, 1752.
73. Alexander Hamilton, *A Defence of doctor Thomson's Discourse on the preparation of the Body for the small pox and the manner of receiving the infection . . .* (Philadelphia, 1751).
74. Adam Thomson, *A Discourse on the Preparation of the body for the smallpox; and the manner of receiving the infection . . .* (Philadelphia, 1750), 15–22.
75. John Kearsley, “A Letter to a Friend: containing remarks on a discourse proposing a preparation of the body for the small-pox . . .” (Philadelphia, 1751), 1–16. Kearsley had long opposed inoculation and had complained to the Royal Society in London that inoculation had prolonged an epidemic in Philadelphia in 1738. Miller, *Adoption*, 144.
76. Shryock, *Medicine*, 13.
77. Although they were not in the same class, both were at medical school at the same time. Thomson began attending Monro's anatomy class in 1735; Hamilton was ready to graduate the following year. Monro, Class list, 1735. Hamilton also refers to Thomson as “my Fellow-Student in Physic” in the *Defence*, 3.
78. Hamilton, *Defence*, 6, 10, 11–13.
79. Riley, *Ancient City*, 119.
80. *Maryland Gazette*, March 14, 1765.
81. Hamilton to Dear Brother, November 5, 1740, in Breslaw, ed., “Perilous Climb,” 447.

82. Anne Arundel County Court Judgments, I.S.B. No. 1, 1748–50 court, 487–88, Maryland State Archives.
83. These cases can be found in Anne Arundel County Court Judgments 1745, I. S. B. No. 6, 52 and 684; 1747/8, I.S.B. No. 1, 36–37; and 1754, I.S.B. No. 2, 817, Maryland State Archives.
84. On New England fees see J. Worth Estes, "Therapeutic Practice in Colonial New England," in *Medicine in Colonial Massachusetts, 1620–1820*, J. Worth Estes, Philip Cash, and Eric H. Christianson, eds. (Boston: Colonial Society of Massachusetts, 1980), 199. On New York City see Robert I. Goler, "A Household and Its Doctor: A Case Study of Medical Accounts Books in Colonial America," in Peter Benes, ed., *Medicine and Healing: Dublin Seminar for New England Folklife Annual Proceedings* (Boston: Boston University Press, 1990), 77.
85. Anne Arundel County Court Judgments, 1762, I.M.B. No. 1, 574; and 1740, I.B., No. 1, 39, Maryland State Archives.
86. For a discussion of the ratio of sterling values to depreciated local currency in Maryland see Breslaw, "Perilous Climb," 442–43; John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1670–1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 19–21, 120, and his table for Maryland on 202; and Kathryn L. Behrens, *Paper Money in Maryland, 1727–1789* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1923), 19–27.
87. On practices elsewhere, see Estes, "Therapeutic Practice," 289–383; Goler, "Household and Its Doctor;" Erick, "The Practice of Dr. Andrew Scott," 123–41.
88. Alexander Hamilton to Dear Brother, August 10, 1739, in Breslaw, ed., "Perilous Climb," 445.
89. *Maryland Gazette*, May 3, and 10, 1745; William Anderson to Alexander Hamilton, April 10, 1751, Manuscript Department, Maryland Historical Society.

The Potomac Company's Canal and Locks at Little Falls

DAN GUZY

Little Falls are the last rapids of the Potomac River before tidewater. Their thirty-seven-foot fall is about half that of the Great Falls, ten miles upriver. In 1795, the Potomac Company completed a canal bypassing Little Falls, along land crossing the Maryland and District of Columbia border. The company built its first locks in this canal and replaced them later with its last locks. The Potomac Company's Little Falls works were among America's first canal engineering successes.

The Potomac Company was part of an eighteenth-century effort to establish trade routes through the Allegheny Mountains and into the western lands of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys and the Great Lakes. When English entrepreneurs from the coastal plain began seeking their fortunes beyond the fall lines of the eastern rivers, they needed new land and waterway paths for commerce. The Ohio Company and other fur trade enterprises established packhorse and canoe trails to the west, but the trails were often inadequate to transport the heavier products of mills and furnaces established in upland settlements after the French and Indian War. Wagon roads through the mountains, like Braddock's and Forbes' Roads, were an improvement. It was clear, though, that water transport would be the more efficient means, if river obstacles could be overcome to allow flatboats and rafts from the mountains and piedmont to reach tidewater ports. The first to propose plans for improving upper Potomac River navigation were John Semple, John Ballendine, and Thomas Johnson, owners of colonial iron furnaces and forges in Maryland and Virginia.¹

The Revolutionary War put a halt to colonial river improvement plans, but with peace came renewed interest in western development and river navigation. Political leaders of the new United States wanted to better connect the lands and citizens on both sides of the Alleghenies, fearing that the Northwest Territories might be lost to British or Spanish influence unless transportation and commerce with the Eastern Seaboard was improved.

Eastern states competed to open their ports to western trade. New York planned to improve the Mohawk River to link the Great Lakes with the Hudson River and New York City. In Pennsylvania, the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Canal would connect Philadelphia to the middle of that state. Virginians hoped that improvements to the James and Kanawha Rivers would serve to open Ohio Valley trade to

Dan Guzy continues to research the Potomac Company and its navigational structures.

Richmond and the Virginia tidewater. And Marylanders and Virginians of the Northern Neck looked to the Potomac and Monongahela Rivers as linking Georgetown and Alexandria to Pittsburgh and the Ohio River.

Of these, the Hudson/Mohawk and the Potomac/Monongahela routes offered the most promise. The Hudson/Mohawk route was long but crossed lower elevations than those of the southern mountains. The Erie Canal, completed in 1825, would eventually take that route and establish New York City as the greatest trade center. The Potomac offered the shortest water route through the eastern Alleghenies, but neither the Potomac Company nor its successor, the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal Company, would build canals up and across the Allegheny Plateau as originally planned. Instead, the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad eventually linked Maryland to the Ohio River in 1852, laying track along the Potomac and Savage Rivers on its way to Wheeling.

The Potomac Company was incorporated through acts passed by the Maryland and Virginia legislatures in 1784. Its goal was to open the Potomac for navigation from tidewater to Georges Creek or the Savage River, connecting from there to western portage routes and opening paths of commerce so businesses could develop along the river and its tributaries. George Washington, who long championed the Potomac as a western route and participated in colonial schemes to develop it, served as the company's first president from 1785 to 1789. The company improved Potomac navigation by blasting and removing rocks from the river, and by building stone dams, walls, and sluices to raise and direct water through river channels. It dug skirting canals around the larger rapids but tried to avoid canal locks, which were then a new technology in America. In contrast, the C&O Canal, which succeeded the Potomac Company in 1828, relied almost exclusively on locked canals constructed away from the river.

In August and September of 1785, Washington and the company directors personally inspected the Potomac from Elks Run, above Harpers Ferry, to Little Falls. Undaunted by what whitewater paddlers now designate as Class I and II rapids, they canoed through all river stretches except at Great and Little Falls. As a result of this inspection, the company first built bypass canals without locks along the Maryland shore at the Shenandoah Falls near Harpers Ferry and along the Virginia shore at the Seneca Breaks (the Seneca Cut). Next the company constructed canals with locks at Little and Great Falls, completed respectively in 1795 and 1802. Before these latter works were operable, the company relied on land carriages around the falls to complete the transport of goods to the tidewater and deep-water ports at Georgetown and Alexandria.

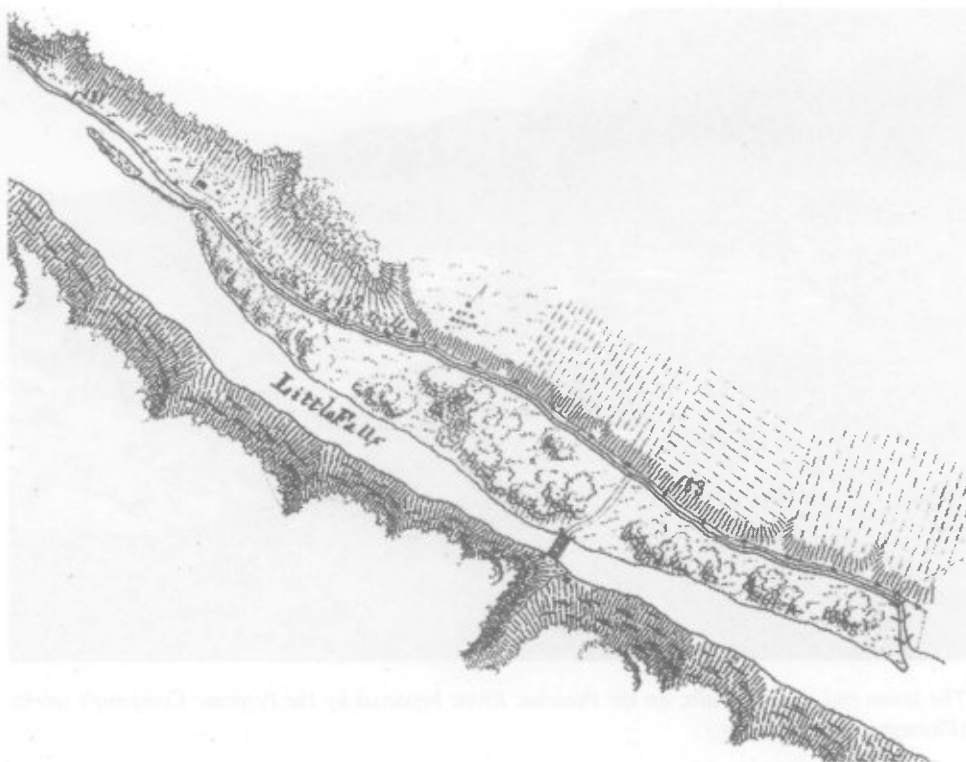
Washington's diary shows that he and the directors began weighing options for a bypass canal when they landed at Little Falls on September 22, 1785. "The place at which it is proposed to take the Canal out, above the little falls, seems favourably formed for it by an Island which may be about half a mile above the



*The lower end of Little Falls, on the Potomac River, bypassed by the Potomac Company's works.
(Photograph by D. Guzy.)*

Falls & the Land through which it must pass on the Maryland Side level but Stoney all the way to the mouth or near it of the Canal begun by Mr. Ballendine if it is carried on a slope. If on the other hand it is to go on a level the Hill side adjoining does not appear unfavourable."

John Ballendine had settled "Amsterdam" in 1765, on the then-Maryland shore at the lower end of Little Falls. Associated with his broader plan for "clearing the Potowmack River," Ballendine began work on a canal and lock on his Little Falls land in 1774.² "Pecuniary embarrassments" and the Revolutionary War aborted his work on the canal and locks. Although the canal apparently never served for navigation, it was used as a millrace, as cited in later water rights litigation between local property owners and the Potomac and C&O Canal Companies. An 1852 statement made in such a suit provides information about both Ballendine's and the Potomac Company's canals. "A certain Mr. John Ballendine commenced extensive works at the said Little Falls and constructed a canal from the head of the cove just below what was called the Riffles, of the Potomac River, to a Branch or Creek called the 'Falls Branch,' so as to command the water of the Little Falls, which flowed round High Island on the Maryland side of the River." "When the Potomac Company Canal was about being made at the Little Falls," it constructed its canal "upon the bed of the canal made by Ballendine & terminated it on Tide Water at the place where Ballendine & also Way, Paxson & Cloud had commenced



The Potomac Company's canal at Little Falls as shown on an 1825 map made by J. J. Abert. (Courtesy, National Archives.)

making & establishing extensive water works." The Potomac Company's canal brought water "from the Head of the Falls on 'Arell's Folly' to the sites of the Tide Water on 'Amsterdam.'" ³ The Potomac Company's canal was built over Ballendine's, and it eventually supplied surplus water to mills.

Although the Potomac Company's condemnation of land at Little Falls continued into 1793 (at least for the land downriver), work crews began clearing the right-of-way for the canal in February 1791. ⁴ By the summer of 1792, construction of the canal was well underway. According to the company's annual report for that year, "A canal at the little Falls is cut on the Maryland side of the River nearly the whole distance necessary, in general to a full depth, the Stone is swept out and a wall built for nearly a mile. The Digging out of Lock Seats is let out for a specific sum and the work commenced." ⁵ The company's 1793 annual report noted that labor problems had slowed progress, but by the following year wooden "frames of the Locks at the little Falls are put in, planked & walled up," and the river bed between Great and Little Falls had been cleared for navigation. Washington wrote to Tobias Lear on March 5, 1795, "I am pleased to hear that the Locks which have been erected at the little falls have stood the test of a first trial so well; and this

pleasure will be increased if Mr. Weston should make a favorable report of them.”⁶

William Weston was the English engineer for the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Canal, which Washington had visited three times between 1792 and 1794.⁷ In March 1795, Weston inspected the Potomac Company's works from Shenandoah Falls to tidewater. He suggested changes to the canal and locks being dug at Great Falls, but those at Little Falls “met with his warm approbation.” Shortly thereafter, in the spring of 1795, the Potomac Company's Little Falls works began operation.⁸

In February 1797 the company advertised that the river between Great and Little Falls had been cleared and allowed boats “to pass with great safety” to tidewater through the Little Falls canal. Similarly, in 1799, the company proudly declared that except for “five hundred feet at Great Falls,” where locks were still under construction, the Potomac had been opened for navigation “at certain seasons” from Georges Creek to tidewater.⁹

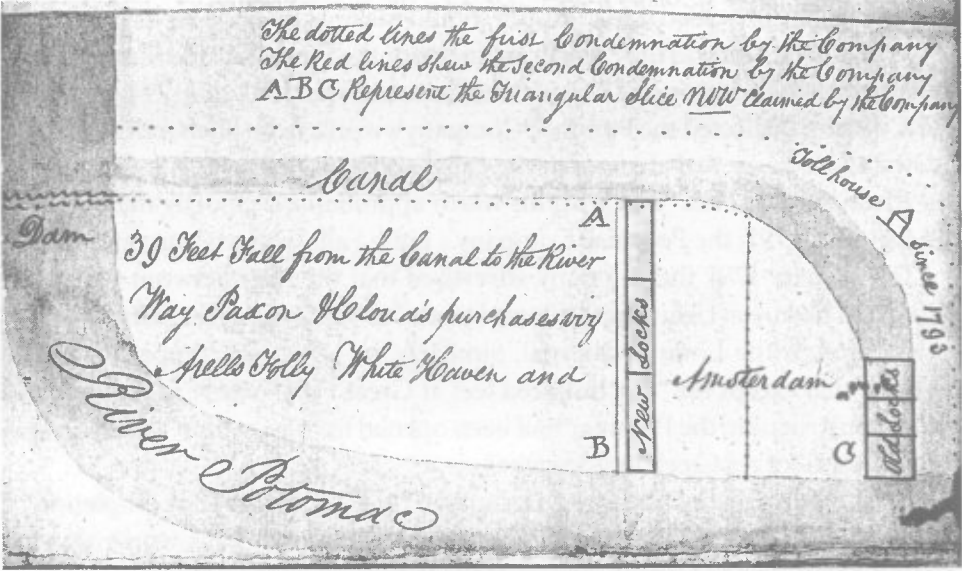
Washington died suddenly on December 14, 1799, before the completion of the Great Falls locks. Thus, navigation through the Little Falls works was the greatest engineering accomplishment of the Potomac Company he witnessed.

The Little Falls works comprised: a stone wing dam to feed water at the canal's upriver entrance; over two miles of canal channel dug next to the riverine terrace; a guard gate near the head of the canal; sluice gates and tumbling (or waste) dams along the canal; locks at the downriver end, connecting to tidewater; and a toll-house. Maps prepared by J. J. Abert and James Geddes in the mid-1820s presented the general layout of the canal and locks.¹⁰ These showed all locks at the canal's downstream end, in a straight section that angled off from the main canal to connect to tidewater. Abert's map showed the wing dam, and Geddes' map showed the guard gate. Steven Lewis and Harlan Unrau have stated that the canal had “five sluice gates and two tumbling or waste dams ‘situated at convenient intervals on its line.’”¹¹ These latter features served to clear silt and debris from the canal. The toll-house was originally constructed in 1793 and repaired and enlarged around 1816.¹²

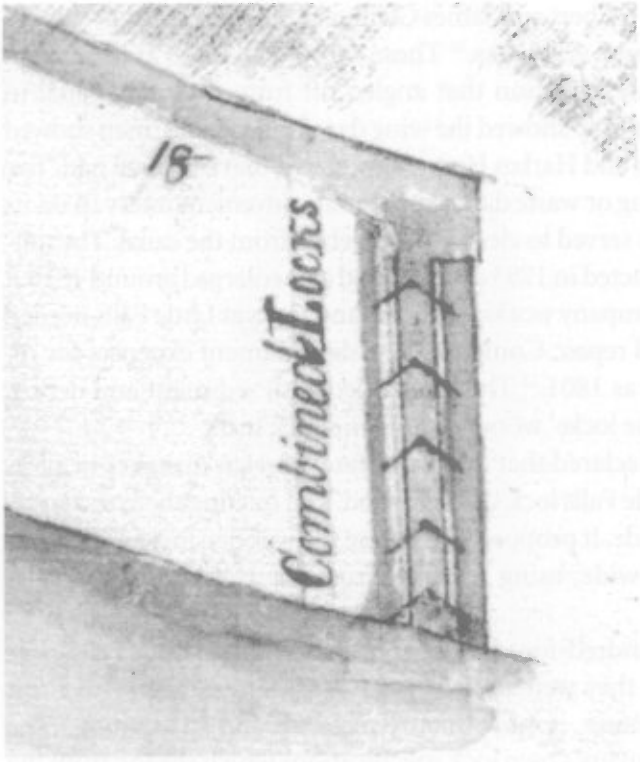
As with all Potomac Company works, the canal and locks at Little Falls needed continual maintenance and repair. Company records document expenses for repairs at Little Falls as early as 1801.¹³ The canal filled with sediment and debris, and frost and rot wore at the locks' wooden gates and lock seats.

In 1808 the company declared that the two greatest design mistakes in all its works were making the Little Falls lock seats of wood, and making them too large, specifically, eighteen feet wide. It proposed to replace the wooden locks with stone masonry locks twelve feet wide, using “granite” from the company's quarry at Little Falls.¹⁴

The eighteen by one-hundred-foot surface area of the original Little Falls locks was enormous considering they were used by boats “rarely more than 7 to 8 feet wide and 60 odd feet long, none . . . more than 10 feet wide and 70 feet long.” The locks' size exceeded the company's own lock specifications which shrank from the



Detail from William Roberts's 1816 "Diagrammatic map of real property . . ." (Courtesy, Library of Congress.) Below: Detail of Little Falls locks shown on Geddes map, 1827 (National Archives.)



original sixteen by one hundred feet, to fourteen by eighty feet, and finally to twelve by eighty feet in 1800.¹⁵ All the company's other locks at Great Falls and on the Shenandoah River were built twelve feet wide, except one fourteen-foot wide lock at Great Falls. Interestingly, the length of all thirteen original locks was one hundred feet, not eighty.¹⁶ The company built its Shenandoah River locks between 1803 and 1808, but relinquished these to the Shenandoah Company in 1815.

While the original Little Falls locks' excessive size wasted water and lockage time, the decay of the wooden lock seats threatened to shut down navigation to tidewater entirely. The use of wood as a lock seat material reflects America's inexperience with lock technology at the end of the eighteenth century. Canal makers on the Mohawk River copied the Potomac Company's Little Falls design and suffered similar consequences; their locks rotted within six years.¹⁷ Although William Weston approved the Little Falls locks, he had used sandstone and brick to construct his own locks on the Schuylkill and Susquehanna Canal.¹⁸ Somehow, the Potomac Company knew to avoid wood in constructing the lock seats at Great Falls and on the Shenandoah River.

The accompanying 1816 sketch shows that the new Little Falls locks were constructed upstream of the old locks.¹⁹ The company had hoped to complete the stone masonry locks at Little Falls while still operating the wooden ones, but the old locks did not quite hold up. It was seeing problems with the wooden locks at Little Falls by 1808. By 1812 the locks were "much decayed." About 1815 they "gave way, in such a manner that it became necessary to renew them entirely."²⁰ The wooden locks may have been temporarily repaired and operated until late August 1817, when the company reduced its toll rates to reflect the unavailability of navigation through the Little Falls canal. When the new masonry locks began operating on March 2, 1818, the company restored its full rate of tolls.²¹

The company began quarrying stone for the new locks as early as 1802.²² Land was condemned in 1812.²³ Ideally, the stone masonry locks would have taken two years to build, and the company had hoped to complete them in 1814. However, the War of 1812 and low toll revenues delayed financing and construction. When the new locks were "more than half done" in June 1816, the company was forced to suspend work for lack of funds and let go its principal engineer and supervisor, Josiah Thompson. The new locks' interference with property owners' water rights also posed legal obstacles.²³

The company's president and directors felt the stone masonry locks at Little Falls to be "much superior" to those at Great Falls. Upon opening in March 1818, the new locks were an immediate success and saw "constant use." However, the company's 1819 annual report implies some repairs or adjustments were needed that year to put the locks in "good order."²⁴

The company made several major repairs and modifications to the Little Falls works in 1820. To repair damage caused by "the pressure of ice at the breaking of

the frost last spring," the lock gates received "considerable repairs, and have been replaced in the most substantial manner; two new sluice gates have been inserted with advantage in the elbow at the foot of the canal at those falls, and just below the locks, for the purpose of facilitating the means of cleansing the canal, and laying the rocks dry, whenever it may be necessary to examine or repair them. The wing dams at the head of the canals, at both the Great falls and Little falls, have, during the low water last summer, been extended further into the river, been increased in height, and well repaired, for the purpose of affording a greater supply of water to these canal."²⁵

The company cited problems from the build-up of sediment in the Little Falls canal in its 1821 and 1822 annual reports. It built a "mud machine" to clean out the canals at Great and Little Falls, which met with at least some success. The company also improved the canal sluice gates for sediment control. In 1822 repairs were made to the sluice gates and wing dam. In 1823 the canal was "cleansed, the banks repaired and three pairs of new sluice gates inserted to great advantage, in preventing the accumulation of foreign matter in the canal." Canal cleaning and repairs continued through 1826–28, the last three years the Potomac Company operated. The company's 1826 annual reported noted, "during the last season [the Little Falls canal was] cleaned out for its whole length, the wall at its entrance has been repaired and heightened, the boat course at its mouth cleaned of the rocks which obstructed the passage of boats, one of the tumbling dams has been made good from its foundation, and other necessary repairs have been completed. Also contracts have been made for the immediate erection of a new pair of upper gates and for the framing of other gates to be in readiness in case of accident or sudden disrepair."²⁶

The new lock gates and frames were completed in 1827. The 1828 annual report noted, "At Little Falls a considerable portion of the canal has been cleaned out, one of the tumbling dams has been rebuilt with stone from its foundation, and three pairs of new gates framed of first rate timber have been inserted to replace others which from long and natural decay incident to works of that kind, had become unsafe longer to be trusted to. Timber for a fourth pair has been also provided and is on the spot and partly framed for the purpose."²⁷

The Potomac Company had to cease its operations in 1828. It could never collect enough tolls to overcome its debts, despite the increased potential for western commerce from the Cumberland Road and for local commerce from the growing settlement in western Maryland and Virginia. While its canals and locks worked successfully, the many ledges and shoals upriver posed low-water problems that limited navigation to only a few weeks of each year. Having seen the success of the Erie Canal, the state and federal governments agreed to build a continuous canal system beside the Potomac. The Potomac Company surrendered its properties, rights and operations to the C&O Canal Company in August 1828.²⁸

The planners of the C&O Canal initially intended to use the Potomac

Company's Little Falls works to reach tidewater. The July 4, 1828, ceremonial groundbreaking for the new canal took place at the head of the old Little Falls canal because canal digging in the direction of Cumberland would begin upstream of Little Falls. However, Georgetown merchants soon demanded that the new canal continue down to their port, bypassing the Little Falls canal and locks.

The Potomac Company's Little Falls canal was used until damaged by floods in August 1829. Afterward, the C&O Canal was built on top of the lower part of the old canal, perhaps covering its upper lock or two. A survey plat by H. W. Brewer shows the C&O Canal following the right-of-way for "the old Potomac Canal" downstream of Lock No. 5. The upper half-mile of the old canal became a feeder canal for the C&O Canal, supplying water at the river inlet lock next to Lock No 5.²⁹

The Potomac Company builders probably did not use engineering drawings. If they did, few drawings have survived, and none for the Little Falls works. One must glean design information from the text of scattered company reports and other accounts, or from maps drawn later for purposes other than design. The following table summarizes the most detailed descriptions of the Little Falls works given from several accounts. The table shows several inconsistencies. While contemporary and modern accounts have disagreed on the number and configuration of the Little Falls locks, most evidence indicates that there were three original wooden locks that were replaced by four stone masonry locks. Geddes' map showed the stone locks arraigned in a "combined" (staircase) configuration, in which gates between locks were shared. Good design would have dictated that all locks be of the same dimensions, as the wooden locks were reported to be in 1808. No report described the lifts (or depths) of the individual stone masonry locks.³⁰

The 1784 Maryland act incorporating the Potomac Company forbade the use of canal water for purposes other than navigation, i.e., for "mills, forges, and other waterworks," unless the proprietors of the land affected gave consent. Until about 1815, the company apparently did not offer surplus water to mills. Instead, the flow of wastewater out of Little Falls canal's "overabundant number of sluice gates (or waste ways)" was viewed as a nuisance that damaged "much of the proprietors' low lands . . . rendering them waste and useless."³¹ Mills built before this time must have relied on independent water supplies and millraces, such as appears to be the case for a merchant mill advertised for sale in the June 19, 1824, *Frederick-Town Herald*. "A piece or parcel of land, just above and adjoining the locks of the Potomac Company's canal, distant from Georgetown less than three miles, containing and laid out for two acres, on which there is erected a substantial and well built stone mill. . . . This mill is turned by the waters of the Potomac River, *through a canal running parallel with the canal of the Potomac Company*" (italics mine).

The financial troubles encountered while building the stone masonry locks led

Table 1: Descriptions of Little Falls Canal and Locks

	Gilpin 1789 ^a	Mason 1808 ^b	Peter 1816 ^c	Mason 1817 ^d	DC 1822 ^e	Briggs 1823 ^f	Stewart 1826 ^g
Canal							
difference of level	37 ft 1 in	37½ ft	37 ft 1 in	37 ft	37½ ft	37 ft	37 ft 1 in
total length	2¾ mi	3,814 yd ^h	3,814 yd	3,814 yd	—	2½ mi	2½ mi
depth	—	6 ft	—	6 ft	6 ft	—	4 ft
width—top	—	25 ft	—	25 ft	25 ft	—	25 ft
width—bottom	—	20 ft	—	20 ft	20 ft	—	20 ft
Locks							
number ⁱ	—	3	3	4	4	3	4
lock seat material	—	wood	—	—	stone	—	stone
length (each)	—	100 ft	—	—	90 ft	—	80 ft
width	—	18 ft	—	—	12 ft	—	12 ft
lift (each)	—	11 ft	—	—	—	—	—

Notes:

a. Potomac survey by Col. George Gilpin and James Smith, 1789 (House of Representatives Report 111 of 17th Congress, 1st Session, 28)

b. Letter from John Mason (Potomac Co. president) to the Secretary of Treasury, January 20, 1808 (National Archives and Bacon-Foster App. C)

c. Letter from M. Peter to the Senate and House of Delegates of the Commonwealth of Virginia, late 1816 (National Archives)

d. Letter from John Mason to Barnard Peyton, VA BPW, December 9, 1817 (National Archives and Bacon-Foster App. D)

e. Report of the Committee of the District of Columbia, May 3, 1822 (House of Representatives Rep. No. 111 for the 17th Congress, 1st Session, pp.14–17)

f. Isaac Briggs, *Report on the Potowmac*, January 23, 1823 (Eighth Annual Report of VA BPW, 14–17)

g. Andrew Stewart, *Brief Description of the Works Executed by the Potomac Company*, May 22, 1826 (House of Representatives Report 228 for the 19th Congress, 1st Session, 62–63. Report repeated verbatim in accounts by C.F. Mercer in House of Representatives Report 90 for the 19th Congress, 2nd Session, 30–31, and in House of Representatives Report 47 for the 20th Congress, 1st Session, 45–46.)

h. 3,814 yards = 2.167 miles, or slightly greater than 2 1/8 miles.

i. Potomac Co. documents dated July 2, 1799 and December 3, 1801, also specifically note there were three (wooden) locks then. The 1817 report is most likely referring to the new stone masonry locks, which began operation on March 2, 1818.



Footbridge supported by possible ruins of a lock at Little Falls. (Photograph by D. Guzy.)

the company to seek new sources of revenue. In November 1819, after two years of negotiations, the company agreed to supply surplus water from the canal to mill sites that John K. Smith had bought at Little Falls on speculation. William Marbury, the company president in 1819, would later recall that Smith and the company had hoped to sell ten or twenty of these industrial sites for \$10,000 apiece. However, it is uncertain how many were actually sold and developed.³²

Future archeological studies of the Potomac Company's Little Falls canal must recognize the proximity of mills and their interrelationship with the canal. In 1930, Allen Clark discussed three mills near the Little Falls locks. Montgomery County records documented "Port Mill" in 1805. A Leonidas H. Johns constructed a mill in 1821, "within a few yards of the locks of the Potomac." Amos or Abner Cloud built the Edes-Cloud Mill at the end of the eighteenth century. William Edes operated it for many years thereafter.³³ Clark's 1930 article presented photographs of the ruins of the Edes-Cloud Mill, no longer standing, and its miller's house, which is now restored as the Abner Cloud house at Fletcher's. It also reproduced an interesting history of the Edes-Cloud Mill from the September 21, 1869, *Evening Star*. This mill was known as the "Lock Mill" because it "almost occupied" the site of "the locks of an old canal which was used to pass boats around Little Falls, before the construction of the present [C&O] canal." That earlier canal was known as the "Potomac Canal" and had "two locks, named respectively, 'George Washington'



Wall near feeder canal entrance. (Photograph by D. Guzy.)

and ‘Martha Washington,’ a portion of the masonry of which is still standing.” The 1869 folksy recollection about the lock names accounts for just two of the four stone locks. Perhaps the C&O Canal buried the other two locks, or subsequent scavenging of building materials from the locks had diminished them beyond recognition.³⁴

Today the Abner Cloud House at Fletcher’s Boathouse is the most conspicuous reminder of early Little Falls structures. This house is about two and a half miles from the head of a C&O feeder canal, and thus near the lock site for the Potomac Company canal (per canal length estimates shown in the table). “Lock Cove” or “Lock Harbor,” where boats now dock at Fletcher’s, is presumably where one set of locks, if not both, connected to tidewater. A short stream flows into Lock Cove, fed by a C&O Canal waste weir about one-tenth of a mile upstream of the Abner Cloud House. On both banks of the stream near the waste weir are stone building ruins, including what appears to be mill ruins along the western bank. At the lower part of the stream, just west of the road through the C&O Canal culvert, is a footbridge supported by parallel stone walls, spaced between ten and eleven feet apart. The walls are approximately eight feet high and are smooth-faced for about twenty feet under the bridge. Rougher masonry wall ruins extend about twelve feet downstream along the western stream bank and about ten feet upstream along the eastern bank.

These walls may be the ruins of the stone masonry locks. Their smooth surfaces beneath the bridge seem more appropriate for locks than bridge supports,

and their angle, slightly greater than ninety degrees, to the C&O Canal is similar to that for the straight line of locks shown on the Abert and Geddes maps. The mill ruins are likely those from the Edes-Cloud Mill, which the 1869 newspaper article claimed "almost occupied" the lock site.³⁵ If the mill was rebuilt over the locks, as implied in the article, that would explain why the stream does not follow a straight line. The reduced spacing between the walls, now ten to eleven feet rather than the original twelve, might be attributable to movement from prolonged pressure of the earthen banks. Whether these walls are from locks is now just speculation. Archeological investigations, aided by more thorough research of Little Falls land records, deeds, and historical accounts, may better determine the locations of the two sets of old locks, and the surrounding mills, millraces, and other industrial structures.

As mentioned above, the upper one-half mile of the Potomac Company canal became a feeder canal, watering almost six miles of the C&O Canal below Lock No. 5. Planners of the new canal initially considered widening the feeder canal to eighty feet but finally kept the width as it was. Brewer's survey plat showed a narrow "Old Potomac Canal" as the feeder canal, with a wide margin of land on the riverside. This margin has since washed out in some places, creating a side channel back to the river about two hundred yards from the feeder canal entrance, and requiring a low dam along the feeder canal above the upper guard gate for the C&O Canal. However, the feeder canal just below its entrance is still narrow and has the remains of stone walls that may date from original Potomac Company construction. These walls appear similar to the walls seen in the Seneca Cut today. A hundred yards or so from the entrance, in the stretch now used for whitewater slalom training, are stone walls on either side about twenty-five feet apart, the width of the original canal. Brewer's plat showed the C&O Canal Dam No. 1 curving out from the head of the canal, following a path similar to that of the old wing dam shown on Abert's map. The new dam may have been built over the old. Farther out, Dam No. 1 turned almost perpendicular to the river, as can be seen today.³⁶

Today, the Potomac Company's canal and locks at Great Falls National Park in Virginia are well documented and partially restored. The much longer works at Little Falls have fallen into relative obscurity, with few archeological and historical studies and no interpretive signs or markers to note their existence. Paddlers who daily boat on the upper end of the canal know it as the "the feeder canal," not "the skirting canal" or "old canal." The Potomac Company's Little Falls canal and locks should be better remembered.

NOTES

1. Corra Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters in the Development of the Potomac Route to the West* (Washington: Columbia Historical Society, 1912), 3–21 and 23–30, summarized the Ohio Company's and Johnson's and Ballendine's Potomac navigation schemes. Grace L. Nute, "Washington and the Potomac: Manuscripts of the Minnesota Historical Society," *American Historical Review*, 28 (1923): 499–503, includes John Semple's 1769 *Proposal for Clearing the Potomac*. Archer Butler Hulbert, *The Great American Canals*, Volume 1, *The Chesapeake and Ohio Canal and the Pennsylvania Canal* (1902–5, repr.; New York: AMS Press, 1971) and Walter S. Sanderlin, *The Great National Project: A History of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1946), include discussions of the internal improvement movement in the eighteenth century.

2. In 1772, Ballendine received support from prominent Virginians and Marylanders to study canals in England. His 1773 *Proposals for Opening the Navigation of the Rivers James and Potomac* were written in England and covered rivers east and west of the Alleghenies. When Ballendine returned to America in late 1774, he held meetings to gain further support and began work on his Little Falls canal. An announcement in the *Maryland Gazette*, October 25, 1774, stated that Ballendine's hands were "at work on the locks at the lower Falls on the river." A report of a November 16, 1774, meeting in Frederick, Maryland, recommended that "Mr. Ballendine make his next beginning to remove Obstructions in Potomac at the Shenandoah Falls and proceed down the River as soon as the Season of the year will permit which he promised to do — but that he continue to carry on the Work he has already begun at the lower Falls as a great part of the cutting may be done in the ensuing Winter." See Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 24–30, and Nute, "Washington and the Potomac," 516–18.

John Semple's 1769 *Proposal for Clearing the Potomac* (in Nute, "Washington and the Potomac," 499–503) assumed a continuous land carriage between tidewater and "the Widow Brouster's," two miles above Great Falls, and thus did not consider a Little Falls canal. His proposal mentioned works by Ballendine at the Seneca Breaks, but Washington's diary for August 3, 1785, implied that the Seneca works never existed, or no longer did in 1785. See Donald Jackson and Dorothy Twohig, eds. *Diaries of George Washington* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1976–79), 4:172.

3. June 2, 1852, statement by William M. Stewart in "the Case of Amos Binney Heirs vs. the C&O Company," in the "Binney Envelope" of the C&O Canal records at the National Archives at College Park, Maryland. This case was also addressed in House of Representatives Report No. 116, 20th Congress, 2nd Session, hereinafter cited as House Report No. 116.

4. From "Work of Potomac Company Hands" in Nute, "Washington and the Potomac," 717.

5. Potomac Company 1792 annual report to its stockholders. The company's president and directors held meetings in early August of most years and issued such annual reports. The records of the Potomac Company, mostly handwritten reports, correspondence, and ledgers from the company's records, 1785–1828, are in Record Group 79, Entries 159–179, at the National Archives Annex in College Park, Maryland. The records there are not complete. Many Potomac Company documents are reproduced or summarized in Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*. Reports and correspondence with the Virginia Board of Public Works (hereinafter cited as VaBPW) appear in annual reports from the board, beginning in 1816.

6. Tobias Lear was both Washington's personal secretary and a Potomac Company director and president. Although Washington resigned as the Potomac Company president when he became president of the United States in 1789, he kept a keen interest in the company and

oversaw its progress. *The Petition of Capt. George Pointer* (1829, in C&O Canal records at the National Archives) reported that Washington inspected the company's works each October. In a June 25, 1794, letter to Henry Knox, Washington noted that he had wrenched his back controlling his horse while on his way to inspect the Little Falls canal and locks.

7. Dean M. Aungst, *The Two Canals of Lebanon County* (Lebanon, Pa.: Lebanon Co. Historical Society, 1968).

8. Potomac Company annual report, 1795, National Archives. Steven H. Lewis, *Stabilization Study, Little Falls Skirting Canal: Maryland and District of Columbia* (Washington D.C.: National Park Service, 1966), stated that the locks began operation in 1797. Lewis based this statement on an October 4, 1797, Potomac Company document in the National Archives that "ordered that a person be employed as Lock keeper of the Locks at Little Falls." However, this order must have been for a replacement of the original lock keeper.

9. *Bartgis's Federal Gazette, or the Frederick-Town and Country Weekly Advertiser*, February 23, 1797. Potomac Company report, 1799, *Call from the President and Directors of the Patowmack Company*, National Archives. Also in Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 169–71.

10. Both Lt. Colonel J. J. Abert's *Map of the Survey of the Potomac Canal*, 1825, and James Geddes' and Nathan S. Roberts' untitled and undated (other sources say "circa 1827") Potomac survey atlas are in Record Group 77, National Archives Annex. The Abert and Geddes surveys mapped routes for a new continuous canal that became the C&O Canal and showed the Potomac Company's Little Falls Canal as part of those routes. They did not show other Potomac Company works (e.g., the canals at Seneca and Great Falls).

11. Lewis, *Stabilization Study*, 6, discussed the guard gate and noted "it was first mentioned in 1830," but did not give the context or source for that statement. Unfortunately, I also could not locate the source for the quoted statement about the number of sluice gates and tumbling dams. Lewis (in note 7) seemed to reference the Potomac Company's 1794 annual report. Footnote 2 of Harlan Unrau's *Historic Structure Report, Dam No. 1 and Associated Structures, Historical Data, Chesapeake and Ohio Canal National Historical Park, MD-DC-WV* (Denver: National Park Service, 1976), seemed to reference the Company's 1808 response to the Secretary of Treasury. However, neither of the latter documents contains the quoted statement.

12. William Roberts's testimony in House Report No. 116, 9–10.

13. Potomac Company annual report, 1801, National Archives.

14. John Mason (president, Potomac Co.) to the Secretary of Treasury (Albert Gallatin), January 20, 1808, National Archives, and Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 174.

15. January 20, 1800, report of the Potomac Company president and directors to the stockholders, National Archives. Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 100, noted the same changes in lock dimensions. However, Ricardo Torres-Reyes in his *Potowmack Company Canal and Locks, Historic Structures Report, Great Falls, Virginia* (National Park Service, 1970) stated that the Act of 1784 called for locks 16 by 80 feet, not 16 by 100 feet.

Each change to a canal or lock specification required modifications to the Maryland and Virginia legislative acts that incorporated the Potomac Company, as did the many time extensions caused by delays in opening the major Potomac Company works.

16. The Potomac Company's 1808 response to the Secretary of Treasury and several House of Representative reports consistently described all Great Falls and Shenandoah River locks as being 100 feet long. In *George Washington's Canal — At Great Falls, Virginia* (Shepherdstown W. Va.: American Canal and Transportation Center, 1976), Thomas Hahn presented measured lengths for the ruins of the five Great Falls locks that varied from 88 feet 7 inches to 101 feet. Thus the "100 foot" length stated in early nineteenth-century reports might have been a rough nominal value.

17. Archer Butler Hulbert, *The Great American Canals*, Volume II, *The Erie Canal* (1902–5, repr. New York: AMS Press, 1971), 34, 35, and 41.
18. Aungst, *Two Canals*, 15.
19. William Roberts, “Diagrammatic map of real property. . . , 1816,” Library of Congress, control no. 90684578. This schematic drawing of the Little Falls canal and both sets of its locks must have been part of Roberts’s testimony presented in House Report No. 116.
20. House Report No. 116, 9; John Mason to Barnard Peyton, December 9, 1817, VaBPW, National Archives, and Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 180–82. Report of the April 6, 1818, Potomac Company president and directors meeting, National Archives.
21. J. Mason to Lewis Sewall at Great Falls, August 25, 1817, and March 2, 1818, National Archives.
22. Sanderlin, *The Great National Project*, 36. The quarry was on Potomac Company property (as mentioned in 1808 response to the Secretary of Treasury) and appeared on Geddes’s map. *The Petition of Capt. George Pointer* (1829, C&O Canal records in National Archives) mentioned Pointer “running free stone from Seneca to the Little [Falls] Lock that [they] were then building.” As can be seen today, Seneca red sandstone (i.e., free stone) was one of the stone materials used in the Great Falls locks. However, the extent to which it was used in the Little Falls locks is not now known.
23. Lewis, *Stabilization Study*, 7. Lewis cites several land and deed transfers which might prove useful in future studies to better define the locations of the Little Falls canal, locks, and nearby mills. Report of the president and directors from their August 6, 1814, meeting, National Archives; Potomac Company annual report, 1817, National Archives, J. Mason to Benjamin Harwood, July 30, 1818, National Archives, printed as insert to a December 7, 1818, report by Harwood, the Maryland treasurer.
24. Letter from Potomac Company president and directors, June 20, 1816, to VaBPW, VaBPW 1816 annual report, 19–20. Letter from Potomac Company president and directors, June 20, 1816, to VaBPW (VaBPW 1816 annual report, 19–20); December 18, 1818, report from John Mason, president of Potomac Co., to Bernard Peyton, Secretary of the Board of Public Works of Virginia, VaBPW 1818 annual report. Also in draft form in National Archives. Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 124–25.
25. John Mason to Bernard Peyton, Esq., Secretary of the Board of Public Works of Virginia, December 5, 1820 (VaBPW 1820 annual report, 78–79).
26. Potomac Company annual reports 1821–23, 1826, National Archives and Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 130–35, 144–46. December 5, 1821, report from John Mason to Bernard Peyton, Secretary of the Board of Public Works of Virginia, National Archives and VaBPW 1821 annual report.
27. Potomac Company annual reports, 1827–28, National Archives and Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 146–51.
28. *Deed of Surrender of the Potomac Company*, in Senate Document 610 for the 26th Congress, 1st Session, 44–46.
29. Unrau, *Historic Structure Report*, 1, and Lewis, *Stabilization Study*, 13–14. Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 151–52, wrote: “The old [Potomac Company] works were used until 1830, when the locks at Great Falls were dismantled and abandoned. The canal at Little Falls was long used in its original state.” Perhaps she was referring only to the upper part of the old Little Falls canal. H. W. Brewer, *Plat of Survey of the C&O Canal from Stone No. 12 to Stone No. 1 & property acquired by the Canal Company from Henrieta Marie Brook*, no date, in National Archives map collection. Record Group 79, C&O Canal Series, No. 43.
30. Lewis, *Stabilization Study*, questioned the number of wooden locks at Little Falls, but four

Potomac Company documents consistently stated there were three (see the table of this article). Other modern authors have claimed there were only three stone locks, but five of six contemporary accounts indicated four stone locks (again, see table). Geddes' map shows four locks with five gates, in staircase fashion. On the other hand, William Roberts' *Diagrammatic map of real property* showed both the old and new locks as sets of three. Abert's map's depiction of the locks is obviously incorrect; it showed only three gates, pointed in the wrong direction.

31. House Report No. 116, 1, 2, 11 and 22.

32. Bacon-Foster, *Early Chapters*, 122–26. J. K. Smith to Potomac Company, August 4, 1817, National Archives, and report of president and directors' meeting, August 4, 1817, National Archives. Bacon-Foster noted that there had previously been a "large mill property" at the site, presumably fed by a millrace independent of the canal. Lewis, *Stabilization Study*, 8, noted that Smith later complained of damage from canal wastewater to a millrace he ran between the canal and the river. William Marbury's letters written in 1828 (House Report No. 116, 13). Sanderlin, *The Great National Project*, 43, concluded: "a protracted disagreement concerning the rights and privileges of each party in the projected development prevented [the sale of mill sites] from becoming effective on a large scale."

33. Allen C. Clark, "The Old Mills," *Records of the Columbia Historical Society*, 31–32 (1930): 81–116. Clark concluded that Amos Cloud purchased the area of the mill seat in 1791. However, Lewis, *Stabilization Study*, wrote that Abner Cloud bought Ballendine's "Amsterdam" tract in 1788. Lewis also discussed a "Cloud, Paxon and Way" partnership that owned "Arell's Folly" at Little Falls and unsuccessfully requested the Maryland General Assembly in November 1794 for permission to pass a millrace through land belong to Thomas A. Brooke. Those names are mentioned in later water-rights litigation. See House Report No. 116.

34. Clark also discussed the Patterson Mills located upriver from the locks at the "Little Falls Bridge," i.e., Chain Bridge. In 1821 these comprised a flour mill, a paper mill, and a wool factory. The Geddes and Abert maps show a "powder mill" farther upriver at the mouth of Little Falls Run on the inland side of the canal, and a "magazine" near the head of the canal. (Thomas Hahn, *Towpath Guide to the C&O Canal* (12th edition; Shepherdstown W. Va.: American Canal and Transportation Center, 1994) claims that C&O Lock No. 6 was "called the 'Magazine Lock' after [the] US Powder Magazine.") Unfortunately, neither map shows mills by the locks or Chain Bridge.

35. William E Davies' *Geology and Engineering Structures of the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal*, an unfinished work published by the C&O Canal Association in 1999, gave a conflicting opinion on the mill and lock locations. According to Davies, "The Cloud-Edes Mill, 200 ft. west of the old locks and 50 ft. on the riverside of the canal, was built in 1801 and operated for 100 years. Only the foundation of coursed rubble schist and boulder gneiss remains at the head of the old mill race."

36. Unrau, *Historic Structure Report*, 7, 10.



County Almshouse. Interior of a room in which a white woman had been confined for nearly eight years. The photograph presents a true picture of the desolate condition of the room and the utter hopelessness of a patient confined in such a place. The patient ate her meals from a tin can, using only a pewter spoon. The patient was not violent, yet she was kept in this cheerless room, with no furniture except a small iron cot, upon which she is sitting. The patient was removed to a State Hospital, where she was occupied and was much benefited. This case was only one of many found in the various almshouses and asylums throughout the State.

This 1909 photograph is one of a series taken at the Baltimore County Almshouse and later exhibited by the Maryland State Lunacy Commission in their quest for mental health care reform. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-110.)

The Beginning of Mental Health Care Reform in Maryland, 1908–1910

ROBERT W. SCHOEBERLEIN

*It is impossible to imagine anything worse than the brutal degradation and cruelty to which the insane are subjected in some of the county almshouses, where they are chained in solitary wretchedness. . . . In one of these dens I found a wretched female maniac quite naked and filthy beyond all conception, crouched in a corner of a dark fetid room without ventilation, where she was confined by day and by night with no other bed than the floor. . . . This condition of affairs calls loudly for reform. Charity requires, Mercy demands it!*¹

— Dr. C. William Chancellor, Secretary
Maryland State Board of Health, 1877

For more than thirty years, from 1874 to 1908, similar descriptions regularly appeared in official reports to Maryland's political leaders, yet the care of the state's indigent mentally impaired citizens, or as they were then termed the "pauper insane," saw little or no improvement. Hidden away to languish in county almshouses, asylums, and even jails, the pauper insane were little noticed in an era supposedly characterized by religious devotion and charitable generosity.

The camera helped to change all that. Photographs played an important role in bringing bad conditions to light and in persuading politicians and the general public that the state should take responsibility for the care of its indigent insane. Photographs played an indispensable role in the mental health care reform efforts undertaken in Maryland during the early twentieth century, an effort spearheaded by the Maryland State Lunacy Commission. Unfortunately, as originally formed, the state-appointed commission charged with overseeing the care of the mentally impaired possessed little power to effect improvements in the lives of its wards.

The history of mental health care in nineteenth-century Maryland displays an uneven rate of progress and enlightenment. Though the state rarely stood in the forefront of those embracing new ideas in treatment, it generally led its southern sisters in enacting more modern policies toward the care of the insane.² Fiscally conservative Maryland, one of the first states in the nation to found a mental institution, saw support for reform wax and wane throughout the nineteenth

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century. Patient overcrowding and chronic understaffing characterized public facilities. In 1798 the Maryland Hospital first opened its doors as a joint private/public venture with private individuals administering the facility.³ The limited space at the hospital served a mixed paying population of sane and insane patients housed in separate wards. Prompted by reports of inadequate care and intractable administrative issues, the state took control of the institution in 1834 and renamed it the Maryland Hospital for the Insane. The General Assembly in 1839 resolved that at least one-half of the approximately sixty hospital spaces be reserved for the pauper insane from the counties, who would pay the state for their board and upkeep.⁴ The national mental health reformer Dorothea Dix in 1850 studied the Maryland Hospital. Her recommendations prompted the legislature to grant the funds to build a new and larger institution. Spring Grove Hospital in Catonsville, its opening much delayed by the Civil War, began admitting patients in 1873.⁵ By the end of the decade its 350 spaces were filled. Maryland's insane population increased with each ensuing decade, but a second state hospital would not be authorized and completed until 1898.⁶

A number of private institutions and sanatoria sprang up to accommodate a burgeoning—and paying—constituency. Mount Hope Retreat, founded and administered by the Sisters of Charity, began treating patients with mental disorders, alcoholism, and addictions in the 1840s. Moses Sheppard, a Quaker merchant and philanthropist, set up a foundation to oversee the construction and administration of a state-of-the-art mental institution in 1857. After a long postponement, the Sheppard and Enoch Pratt Hospital opened its doors in 1893 and soon gained a national reputation for its modern facility and methods of treatment. Other, smaller institutions, such as the Gundry Cottage, specialized in the treatment of specific kinds of mental illnesses, giving care to between six and thirty individuals each.⁷

The majority of mentally impaired Marylanders remained either in the homes of relatives, or if poor in the county almshouses and jails. In 1834 the state legislature passed a law that designated the county almshouse or jail as the facility where the pauper insane were to be housed.⁸ Throughout the nineteenth century these institutions became the usual destination for the indigent insane. By 1893 approximately one thousand such individuals resided in Maryland county facilities. Almshouses served also as the warehouses for the incapacitated, chronically ill, and elderly populations. Residents included those afflicted with Alzheimer's disease, epilepsy, and mental retardation, or "feeble-mindedness" as it was then known. Not all counties in Maryland ran almshouses. In certain counties, a system of out-pensions granted by the county commissioners allowed the poor to remain in their own lodgings.

The county Trustees of the Poor or a grand jury empowered by the county circuit court inspected the conditions of the almshouse on occasion. A review of a

sampling of grand jury findings shows the comments to be generally less than critical. One is struck by the recurring remark that “the conditions are as best as can be expected” or a similar phrase. Comments perceived as criticism of one’s own neighbors or one’s county commissioners, perhaps, had a chilling effect upon meaningful suggestion.

With the founding of the Maryland State Board of Health in 1874, individuals untrammelled by local influences began inspecting almshouses. By law, a board member could visit all charitable institutions, jails, and reform schools at the request of the governor. Tours of these institutions commenced in 1874, and the findings proved to be less than complimentary.⁹ The first comprehensive view into the conditions of Maryland almshouses came in a groundbreaking 1877 report made by Dr. C. William Chancellor, the Secretary of the State Board of Health. Chancellor personally visited each Maryland almshouse and jail and wrote up a scathing report condemning their condition and administration. “It is painful to report the shocking condition in which many of the public institutions were found, and it is difficult to conceive that anything worse ever existed in a civilized country.” He described numerous examples of mentally ill patients held in unnecessary restraints, inadequately fed, and improperly housed. In Queen Anne’s County, Chancellor discovered a woman chained to the floor in an attic. He characterized the Anne Arundel County almshouse as “an abode of misery” where “not a comfort or convenience, beyond such as are usually afforded to caged wild beasts, was to be found.” In regard to all such institutions, Chancellor concluded: “For the insane there is written over the portal of the almshouse as those over the infernal regions, ‘Whoever enters here leaves hope behind.’”¹⁰

The Maryland State Lunacy Commission

The responsibility for the regular inspection of almshouses eventually passed to the Maryland State Lunacy Commission. Founded in 1886, the Lunacy Commission possessed nominal oversight over all of the mentally ill held in institutions throughout the state.¹¹ As part of its charge, the commission secretary made visits to state hospitals, almshouses, asylums, and jails every six months and reported his findings to the governor. As first organized, this body had little power to effect any change. With only the ability to grant new licenses for privately run facilities, the commission had virtually no influence over county commissioners regarding the care of the insane in their almshouses. Public shaming appeared to be the only tool at hand, and the commission used it in the pages of its annual report. But few people ever saw the contents of these publications. State legislators and possibly members of the medical community appear to have been the recipients. Legislators, who spent a relatively brief time in session, were approached by professional lobbyists with a myriad of proposals competing for their attention. No advocacy

on behalf of the mentally ill, save for the limited efforts of the state medical society, ever materialized.

The Lunacy Commission reports, though, often contained very graphic descriptions.¹² They uniformly decried the use of almshouses for the reception and housing of the insane. Since most almshouses lacked any form of recreation, employment, or therapy, the mentally impaired, even those not held in some form of physical restraint, whiled away the hours seated on benches or aimlessly roamed the halls and grounds. Conditions varied in different county almshouses, but generally speaking the daily administration of most almshouses could be described as loose. Only the most rudimentary records were kept. Superintendents, often local farmers appointed through political influence, sometimes changed yearly. Attendants had no training in the care of the mentally ill, which meant that physical restraints often were used on patients, even though some Maryland medical professionals had disapproved of the practice since the 1870s. In at least one case improperly applied restraints led to the death of a patient from gangrenous hands. That incident occurred when the leather muff that had been used to restrain a male patient at the Bay View Asylum was tied too tight, cutting off the circulation in his hands for several hours. Sometimes attendants used their fists to subdue the demented or unruly.¹³ It appears that senile elderly were merely locked in cell-like rooms to keep them from wandering away. Reports speak of the "almshouse diet," a subsistence diet consisting mostly of hominy or oatmeal as the daily fare for residents. Another term, "almshouse odor," can easily be imagined as an oppressive presence in a building that lacked indoor plumbing or bathing facilities, and regular, daily care for the incontinent or chronically ill population. The deceased sometimes lay on their beds for several days before the undertaker made his appearance. Some almshouse structures dated from the eighteenth century; others, reserved for African Americans, appeared to be nothing more than old, drafty slave quarters.¹⁴ A local doctor usually came to call on an "as needed" basis. Therapeutic drugs for patients appear rarely to have been kept on the premises.

Almost every Lunacy Commission annual report calls for the building of a proper state facility for the African American insane. A string of commission secretaries recognized that the almshouse housing reserved for people of color almost always was of poorer condition than that for whites, usually "a dilapidated cabin, more or less clean, and always overcrowded."¹⁵ Writing of the Frederick County facility, one secretary thought, "the beasts of the field are taken better care of than the poor negroes."¹⁶ Segregated facilities existed in many counties, though for want of funding, certain counties broached this unwritten law, and allowed the races to co-habit.

Some counties permitted the sane and insane residents, men and women, to intermingle freely. The sadly predictable result of this living arrangement appalled the commission. Feeble-minded and psychologically ill women frequently became

pregnant, begetting another generation to the Bedlam-like surroundings of the almshouse.

In the early 1890s a movement initiated by the Lunacy Commission and carried forward by the Medical-Chirurgical Faculty, the state medical professional society, promoted improved care for the mentally ill poor. Inspired by New York State's recent passage of an act providing care for the insane, the first in the nation, a few Marylanders recognized their state's responsibility for the proper housing and care of their own indigent insane. In what could be characterized as a quiet campaign engineered by Dr. George J. Preston, Secretary of the Lunacy Commission, and supported by the medical community, legislation was passed in 1904 whereby the state would take over the care of its indigent insane on January 1, 1909. The State Care Act of 1904 faced no open opposition in the House or Senate with both houses unanimously supporting the passage of the bill.¹⁷ The transfer of mentally impaired county almshouse and asylum residents to state hospitals would be made as soon as practical.

The law never was enacted. Maryland simply lacked the adequate number of spaces within its facilities to house all of its insane poor, and formidable competition for new hospital construction funding existed. The building of good state roads in the interest of economic development was a higher priority for state politicians. In his opening message to the General Assembly in January 1908, Governor Edwin Warfield remarked, "I doubt the feasibility of the State assuming the care and maintenance of all her dependent insane [in 1909], because it will not have adequate buildings and facilities for doing so, and the State Treasury will not be in a condition to bear the burden." The State Care Act was repealed that year and immediately reinstated, moving the start date two years forward to January 1, 1911.¹⁸ According to some sources, Governor Warfield opposed any action on the state care issue during his tenure.¹⁹

Despite the postponement of state care, 1908 was to be a pivotal year for Maryland's indigent mentally impaired. The inauguration of a new, sympathetic governor and the reorganization of the Lunacy Commission heralded a reinvigorated campaign that sought to bring state care before the public eye. Johns Hopkins Hospital's Dr. William E. Welch worked behind the scenes to recruit new members for the commission, replacing four of the five by August.²⁰ Welch, as president of the State Board of Health and a health care activist, had Governor Austin Crothers tap Dr. Hugh Young for the position of president. Young, a native Marylander and a urologist by training, had assisted in the successful passage of legislation authorizing Maryland's first tuberculosis hospital. Though not trained in psychiatry, Young's humanitarian interest coupled with his influential contacts proved invaluable to the commission. Commission secretary Dr. Arthur P. Herring served as the key administrator over the daily functions of the body. Herring, a West Virginian by birth, earned his medical degree in 1896 from the Baltimore Medical

College, where he then served on the faculty. Herring acted as the visiting neurologist and psychiatrist at the Bay View Asylum, Baltimore City's almshouse. Herring possessed the medical training and intimate knowledge of the almshouse setting to speak with authority before both politicians and the public. The other three appointed members of the commission included Dr. Henry Hurd, former superintendent of the Pontiac State Hospital in Michigan, Dr. R. Markley Black, and Dr. John D. Blake. Governor Crothers and Isaac Lobe Straus, Maryland's attorney-general, also served as ex-officio members.

The reconstituted commission pursued a new, more aggressive strategy that appealed directly to the people of Maryland. The members decided to expose the almshouse conditions and launch a campaign to enlist the support of Maryland's medical community and influential citizens throughout the counties. "Public sympathy, both professional and lay, is necessary to force the Legislature to the realization of the fact that they can no longer 'play politics' with such an important matter, but that they must declare themselves one way or another," observed the *Maryland Medical Journal*. Thirty years of reports describing, sometimes in excruciating detail, the horrific county almshouse and asylum scenes had failed to generate any true political advocacy on behalf of the pauper insane. As the *Journal* noted, "If the Lunacy Commission and the medical profession are not fully prepared to face this issue with determination to win and with the full assurance that they are supported by the intelligent laity, then the probabilities are that there will be another delay or possibly the bill will be repealed."²¹ Rather than continuing to rely on the good graces of politicians, the commission would use the camera in its fight for mental health care reform.

During the early twentieth century, a movement arose across America broadly designed to ameliorate long-standing social problems. The product of a more scientific approach to philanthropy engendered by post-Civil War reformers, the Progressive Movement, as it came to be known, enlisted specialized studies and formalized surveys in an attempt to systematically understand the basis of community ills. Areas of particular interest included housing for the poor, conditions in factories, child labor, and mental health care reform. Progressives hoped to draw public attention to their reports, but for the most part they sought to convince state and national politicians to enact legislation as the means to bring about societal change. In essence, they solicited the legal and financial support of government in their crusade for better conditions.²²

Progressive reformers used documentary photographs in their campaigns for both educational and dramatic effect. The pioneering work of Jacob Riis, a Danish-born columnist for the *New York Tribune* who sought to expose the poor housing conditions in New York City, is often cited as the model. Riis took his camera into the dank basements and cramped alleyways of immigrant communities. With his images made into lantern slides, the journalist revealed his findings through



Photograph of a basement apartment in a Baltimore tenement. (From Janet E. Kemp, Housing Conditions in Baltimore . . ., 1907; Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3232.)

illustrated lectures to church groups and organizations. His work brought the needed public exposure and the eventual and necessary political support that ultimately brought about changes in the laws.

Maryland reformers also employed photographs to publicize their campaigns. The camera had been used extensively and successfully to expose substandard housing conditions in 1907 Baltimore. The Charity Organization Society and the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor published a ninety-six page report that uncovered unsanitary conditions in the rented dwellings of the city's immigrant and poor populations. Janet E. Kemp compiled surveys of the residents in three Baltimore neighborhoods ringing the harbor. Twenty-nine images of dark alleyways and cellar apartments, often incorporating children, provided emotionally charged evidence that change was needed.

Photographs were also important in the community health education campaign designed to combat the spread of tuberculosis. The Maryland Tuberculosis Commission, in cooperation with several private groups, sought to heighten public awareness about a disease that was reaching epidemic proportions within the state. At its January 25, 1904, public health exhibition held in McCoy Hall on the Johns Hopkins University campus, the Tuberculosis Commission used images from



Baltimore's "Lung Block," c. 1904. (From Janet E. Kemp, *Housing Conditions in Baltimore . . .*, 1907; Maryland State Archives, MSA SC 3232.)

a northwest Baltimore neighborhood known as the "Lung Block" to illustrate the conditions that led to the transmission of tuberculosis. A series of interiors from local sweatshops and shots of New York tenements were also featured. An allied group in this campaign, the Maryland Association for the Prevention and Relief of Tuberculosis, delivered illustrated lectures using lantern slides.

Photographs and the State Care Campaign

*Nothing is doing more to improve the cure and treatment of the tuberculosis patients than the interest of the public in taking up the study of the disease and urging proper care . . . just such a condition must exist in Maryland in regard to the care of the insane.*²³

— Dr. Arthur Herring, 1910

*It is our duty as medical men to agitate, and agitate, and agitate until State care is secured for all the dependent insane of Maryland.*²⁴

— Dr. Henry Hurd, 1909

The Maryland State Lunacy Commission initiated its documentary photo-

graphic campaign in August 1908. It appears that Secretary Herring first employed a photographer from the Hughes Photographic Company to accompany him on his tour of Baltimore's almshouse, Bay View. This no doubt costly arrangement prompted the commission to find a more economical way to acquire photographic images for its campaign. On September 9, at its regular quarterly meeting, commission president Young "suggested that the Secretary purchase a camera to be used in the work of the Commission, also that lantern slides be prepared for use in public lectures." Dr. Herring acquired a camera soon thereafter and began his tour of county institutions, making an initial photographic record of what he witnessed. A preliminary, incomplete set of photographs existed by the end of September. These images included exterior and some interior views of buildings, several of which featured residents.

Herring captured the general themes the commission had railed against for decades. The topics of focus included the free use of restraints, chronic overcrowding, dilapidated and unsound buildings, unsanitary conditions, lack of recreation, and drawing a visual parallel between an almshouse and a jail. Barred windows and manacled patients implied that mental illness was a punishment rather than an affliction. The available natural light (and use of flash photography, in a later series of photographs) and a longer exposure time permitted the photographing of basement cells or pens that often housed the unruly or patients afflicted with senile dementia. Captions accompanying the photographs reinforced the argument, guiding the viewer in their interpretation of the photograph and providing additional insight into how patients were improperly cared for within the county institutions.

Prior to releasing his official report, Herring passed information and images on to the *Sunpapers*. Under the headline "Asylums Deplorable," Marylanders were greeted with an image of shackled patients and a view of a mentally retarded man held behind bars at the Snow Hill jail. The article went on to detail the horrible conditions that Herring found in many of the almshouses. It also praised the facilities in Allegany, Somerset, Cecil, and Queen Anne's Counties. The *Sunpapers* noted that Herring's findings are "not a revelation to the State" and that the paper had published similar descriptions the previous winter.²⁵

This initial series of twenty-six images appeared as the exhibit portion of a preliminary report Herring transmitted to Governor Crothers on October 6, 1908. The typescript report and the images formed a nucleus around which a final comprehensive printed version would appear, with additional photographs, several months later. Fourteen almshouses and asylums, ranging from Alleghany County to the Eastern Shore, appear within the photographs.

Herring allotted the largest number of photographs to the Montevue Asylum in Frederick County, and it is this institution that the commission found the most problematic. It had not always been that way. In 1884 the state health department



Photographs taken by Arthur Herring revealed deplorable conditions at county almsouses. At left a man is chained to a grate at Montevue Asylum (MSA S-195 69D).

Right: Men find room to sleep in a Montevue hallway, evidence of "chronic overcrowding." (MSA S-195 74C).



Left: The interior of a room at St. Mary's County Almshouse is ample evidence of "dilapidated and unsound buildings." (MSA S-195 82C).

Right: This room in the basement of Bay View Asylum, in which inmates spent time classified as "recreation," was referred to with deserved cynicism as "the Senate Chamber." (S-195 84B).





Photographs of this patient held in the Worcester County Jail (right) and cells for the unruly or patients with senile dementia (Kent county Almshouse above) demonstrated that mental illness was viewed as a punishment rather than an affliction. Below: Kent County Almshouse, African American Building. (All photographs this page: MSA GOVPUB 810916-1).





Arthur Herring's photograph of the Montevue Asylum, African American building, in Frederick County, Maryland, 1908. (Maryland State Archives, MSA GOVPUB 810916-1, Exhibit A.)

lauded the asylum as a model institution that brought credit upon the county. Early Lunacy Commission annual reports also praised the conditions at Montevue as exemplary. Yet by the mid-1890s, even a Frederick County grand jury suggested that conditions could be improved for some of its patients. Reflecting the segregationist thought that often pervaded Progressive thinking it noted: "The enlargement of an adjoining building for the confinement and care of the Colored portion of inmates would in our opinion be of great advantage to the institution."²⁶ Montevue accepted, along with payment from other counties, insane African Americans from throughout Maryland. Chronic overcrowding of black patients at this institution had been noted within the commission's annual report since 1895. The *Sun* opined that "Frederick is a very rich county, and . . . the abuses there must arise either from incompetence or indifference."²⁷ It appears that a string of county commissioners viewed Montevue as the means to build up county coffers.

The first photograph of Montevue shows a substantial nineteenth-century building formerly used as the almshouse for the white population. A closer inspection of this back view of the structure reveals that the bricks need repointing, but the roof appears to be in good condition. The caption describes the structure as "overcrowded, unsanitary, reeking with vermin and filth: about 200 Negroes are confined in this building," but the tight framing of the image and the lack of any people within it work against the building's size being inadequate. The structure



A second view of Montevue Asylum, African American building, 1908. (Maryland State Archives, MSA GOVPUB 810916-1, Exhibit A.)

appears typical, even in upkeep, of contemporary rural structures. Though the photograph was not terribly supportive of his assertion, Herring needed this view as an establishing image with which to introduce Montevue.

The second image shows the front of the building and is much more effective in communicating the idea that something is amiss. Shutters are absent from some of the windows, though the glass in each window appears to be intact and, again, the roof is in good repair. The building is in some disrepair but not dilapidated. Though the area surrounding the building is largely compacted dirt, tubs of flowers can be discerned in the foreground. Approximately thirty people, mostly women dressed in clothing of acceptable condition, sit upon benches lining the front façade. The caption, however, reads, “Group of 75 Female Inmates. . . . these patients have practically no recreation or occupation.” Though the main point of the caption is the lack of occupation, the image works against evoking sympathy in the viewer. Idleness on a bench, on a sunny day out-of-doors, may have been interpreted as a recreational activity.

It is the interior photographs, though, that are most consistently effective in buttressing the Lunacy Commission’s argument for state care. The third and fourth images, interior shots of the men’s ward, are vastly more persuasive in communicating the unnecessary use of restraints and overcrowding. The third photograph depicts the interior of a cell with two patients in shackles. A third man is almost



Patients in shackles at Montevue Asylum, African American male ward, 1908. (Maryland State Archives, MSA GOVPUB 810916-1, Exhibit A.)

obscured from view. None of the men appear threatening. The man on the left looks away from the lens, his shoulders relaxed and his hands down at his sides. The man to the right, his side to the camera, looks out the window with his arms drawn up over his chest. Neither appears aggressive. The heavy plank door in the foreground, seemingly impenetrable and jail-like in its formidability, seems almost absurd, which was doubtless the point. The caption points out that the men “sleep on the floor.”

The second ward image depicts the central hall in the men’s ward. Upon a long bench sit an unknown number of patients, some barefoot, while others stand just outside their cells or rooms. The center of the photograph features a shackled patient, his chains clearly visible against his light colored shirt. His face is turned away from the camera, and his eyes are almost closed. Again, due to his non-threatening pose, one wonders why he is restrained. An elderly patient is to the right. He wears a ragged bandoleer-like article slung across his chest. On his hat, tucked within the hatband, is a card containing some indecipherable writing. With the exception of the eccentric dress of this individual, one might mistake the interior for a county jail. Actually, the architecture speaks more of the antiquated concept relating to the proper housing of the mentally ill.

The last two images address the themes of inadequate or non-professional staffing and the custodial nature of the institution, where patients have little hope

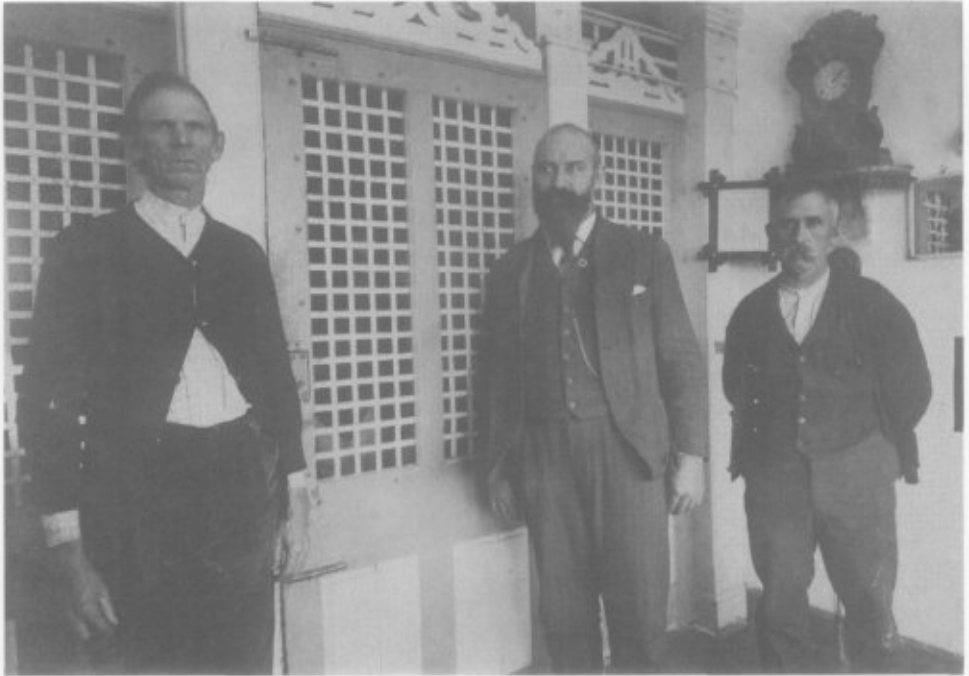


The central hall through the African American men's ward at Montevue, 1908. (Maryland State Archives, MSA GOVPUB 810916-1, Exhibit A.)

for recovery. The way in which the attendants are portrayed is wholly unflattering. The individual on the left, who appears to be the focus of the image, wears an ill-fitting sweater and no collar. The center figure, a man of authority as evidenced by his suit and watch chain, looks away from the lens toward the man in the sweater. The suited man appears disengaged and evokes suspicion in the viewer. This is a strange photograph, one that begs the question: "Who are the patients and who are the authorities?" None of the subjects appear comfortable. The comments note that these men have no training and that each looks after twenty-five "inmates," about one-third the proper staffing level.

The sixth and final image is a view from behind the grated door of a cell. The caption reads in part, "an iron-grated door of a cell . . . in which a patient was found handcuffed." Light hot spots outside the room add to the darkness within. It is an effective image in that it allows the viewer the perspective of the patient. The photograph evokes the hopelessness of being locked down.

In a subsequent November 1908 letter issued to the Frederick County commissioners, Dr. Herring suggested that the patients be given some form of employment, that the number of attendants be increased, that the sanitary conditions be improved, that the number of patients be limited to the institution's normal capacity, and that restraints be removed as far as possible. Though it is unknown how the county officials responded to Herring's letter, only the Frederick County



Members of the staff at Montevue Asylum, 1908. (Maryland State Archives, MSA GOVPUB 810916-1, Exhibit A.)

commissioners steadfastly refused to endorse the concept of state care.²⁸ Herring then made the Montevue Asylum the focus of the Lunacy Commission's October 28, 1908, meeting. Though the conditions at almshouses were addressed broadly, the commission postponed making public conditions at Montevue until they could "go tactfully and win the co-operation of the County Commissioners, if possible." The commission decided to "adhere strictly to legal lines" but "to use the public press to expose conditions." They also discussed rescinding the license of the asylum if non-cooperation continued.²⁹

Toward the end of November, Herring began presenting an illustrated lecture to groups throughout Maryland, probably without identifying almshouses by location. It appears that the Lunacy Commission arranged to be included on the program of a series of pre-arranged exhibitions organized under the auspices of the Maryland Association for the Prevention and Relief of Tuberculosis. The *Easton Gazette* noted that, in addition to the general public, members of the Talbot County Medical Society planned to attend Herring's December 3 presentation. The *Rockville Sentinel* noted that after Herring lectured on December 4 a resolution was unanimously adopted by those Montgomery County citizens present endorsing the idea of state care. Herring continued his illustrated lectures throughout the state during the entire campaign.

The commission also lobbied the Maryland medical community in the pages

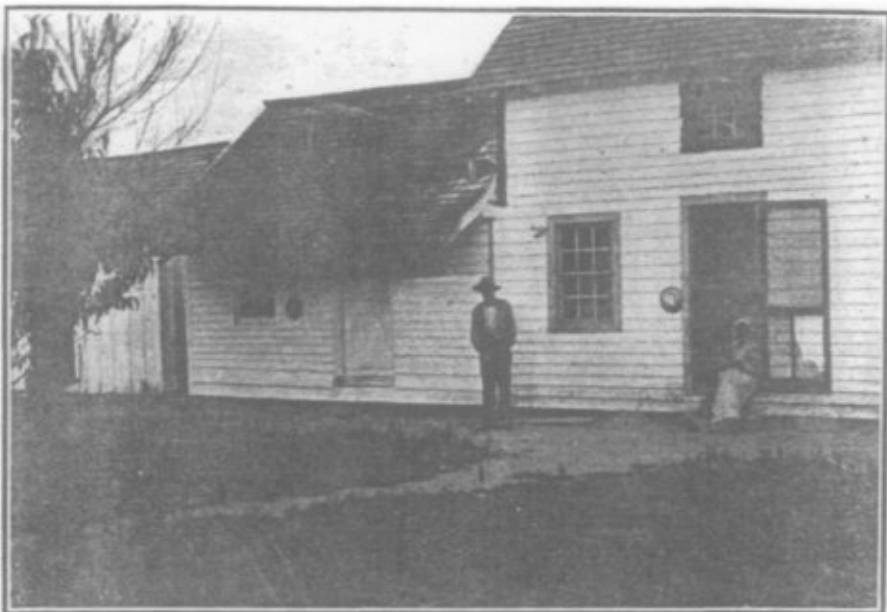


The view from inside a cell at Montevue. (Maryland State Archives, MSA GOVPUB 810916-1, Exhibit A.)

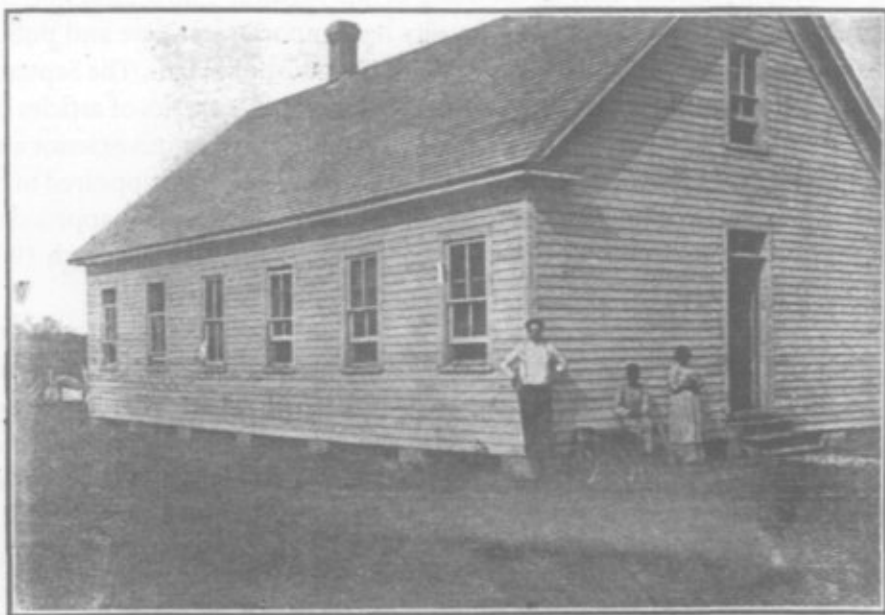
of the *Maryland Medical Journal*, the voice of the Medical-Chirurgical Society, understanding that the medical community had important private and public contacts throughout the state that could influence state politicians. The September 1908 issue announced the *Journal's* intention to publish a series of articles on psychiatry in Maryland.³⁰ The November issue featured anonymous exterior and interior views of two almshouses. One photograph depicted what appeared to be a former slave quarter, another a room whose distinguishing features happened to be the lack of furnishings and the abundance of peeling paint. The March 1909 issue contained exterior shots of two almshouses on the Eastern Shore.

An event in Baltimore afforded the first large-scale opportunity for great numbers of people and the press to view the images and educate themselves about Maryland's mentally impaired citizens. The commission opened a three-day exhibition of its photographs, along with shackles, other restraint devices, and samples of patient handiwork at state hospitals at Johns Hopkins University's McCoy Hall on January 20, 1909. The *Maryland Medical Journal* commented, "The exhibition is very creditable and is the first affair of its kind ever held in the country, so far as we are able to learn."³¹

Opening night proved to all that this was no ordinary exhibition. A brass concert band, composed of twenty young teenagers from the Home of the Feeble-Minded, serenaded the audience in advance of the speakers. Governor Crothers



TWO SMALL FRAME BUILDINGS FOR SIX PATIENTS. GENERAL CONDITIONS FAIR.



FRAME BUILDING, ONE AND A HALF STORIES HIGH, FOR BOTH RACES AND BOTH SEXES. GENERAL CONDITIONS FAIR.

provided a symbolic endorsement speech as the initial remarks. Herring enlisted none other than Dr. Alfred Meyer, a nationally recognized psychiatrist and soon to be head of the Phipps Clinic, to deliver the keynote address. A few months earlier, the commission secretary had minced no words in soliciting Meyer's help: "I trust that you will take a decided stand in favor of State care and put the matter as forcibly as you can before the people of Maryland. We have a hard fight on hand and need your co-operation."³² Meyer's much anticipated speech focused upon the responsibilities of the State in the state care question. Speaking of county institutions, Meyer concluded that "they probably do as well as they and their constituents consider necessary. As to the actual results, the photographs and concrete records of Dr. Herring will have to speak. . . . The almshouses perpetuate the wrong impressions which are at the bottom of a great part of the public indifference."³³ Unfortunately, Herring thought the content of Meyer's paper went over the heads of most laymen present.³⁴

Herring's stereopticon lecture, on the other hand, was dramatically clear and straightforward. The *Baltimore News* assured its readers that photographs "taken in some of the hospitals where conditions were squalidly unspeakable will be shown."³⁵ Though we do not know precisely which images Herring used, they were "views of the almshouses in the counties of Maryland and the State institutions, showing the marked contrast between the two systems of caring for the insane. The final screens shown were a brief resumé of the advantages to be gained by State care."³⁶ Meyer later told Secretary Herring that he "was very much impressed with the exhibit you made and especially your demonstration. There can hardly be any doubt in my mind as to the success of the State-care issue."³⁷

The commission decided upon one image that would become emblematic of the almshouse care of the insane (page 438), one whose theme was the utter hopelessness of the patients confined in those institutions. The photograph portrays a young to middle-aged white woman, catatonic, her hands cupped over her face in a pose of heavy despair. Light shines through a grated window in the center of a bare room where she has been confined for "nearly eight years." The caption reads: "The photograph presents a true picture of the desolate condition of the room and the utter hopelessness of a patient confined in such a place. . . . The patient was not violent, yet was kept in this small cheerless room . . . only one of many found in the various almshouses and asylums throughout the State."

The portrayal of a white woman in this setting probably evoked the greatest sympathy from Herring's audience of middle- and upper-class whites. She was clothed in the manner of most middle-class women of the period. She might have been a neighbor, friend, or relative. The caption reinforces the idea that confine-

Facing page: The March 1909 issue of the Maryland Medical Journal contained these photographs of almshouses on the Eastern Shore. (Medical-Chirurgical Faculty.)



Montgomery County Almshouse, 1909. (Maryland State Archives, S195-85C.)

ment, without recreation or therapy, is actually a form of punishment. It is a confinement bereft of hope. This white patient was an archetype of all the mentally impaired held in almshouses throughout Maryland. Her wants and needs were neglected and she was destined to live a life without comfort, without any opportunity to regain her sensibilities.

Other images in the reform campaign, though more powerful, would have been less effective. Images of African Americans in chains may have but probably did not cause middle-class Maryland viewers great disquiet in 1909, for this period of American history was the nadir of race relations. Besides building good roads, the disenfranchisement of African American males appeared to have been an all-consuming passion during the Maryland legislative sessions of the 1900s. To the Progressive mind, segregation was but another aspect of social reform. William L. Marbury, for example, an attorney who led the disenfranchisement movement, "was especially anxious that a hospital for the care of the colored insane be established. He said that, while he opposed participation of the colored man in government [applause], he was anxious that every provision should be made to look after the health, mental and physical, of the members of the race."³⁸ Holding the paternalistic notion that "the Southern White man is the Negro's truest friend," Marbury later served as the president of the Crownsville State Hospital, the hospital reserved for African Americans.³⁹

In the entire series of photographs, only one implies that a patient may be capable of causing harm. That photograph depicts the almshouse supervisor and his family, including several young children, outside their home. In the foreground stands a grinning, teenage African American male. The caption reads: "Montgomery County Almshouse. View of the overseer, his wife and family. Idiotic negro in the foreground who is allowed to roam around unrestrained a constant menace to the children." Public opinion regarded the almshouse as improper for young children. Children of the poor were routinely removed from almshouses into orphanages or other settings. The photograph raises the possibility of sexual abuse and the generally unwholesome almshouse atmosphere—even the supervisor's children ran the risk of danger by being there. The photograph played upon latent fears, and reformers knew it.

The Lunacy Commission's twenty-third annual report of 1908 revealed all. A notice of the lavishly illustrated publication appeared in the *Baltimore Sun* on April 18, 1909. The article noted that the photographs provided "a quick insight into the conditions of the county institutions . . . showing men chained to cells and others living in unhealthy surroundings. . . . In almost every county little attention is paid to the insane and feeble-minded." The photographs stand in direct contrast to those of state hospitals where "everything is clean and wholesome." The *Sun* reserved its most detailed description for the views taken at Montevue Asylum, "the worst of all visited . . . [where] men are shown with their arms shackled, and one old negro is seen chained and shown lying on the floor in an unclean cell. Patients—men and women—are shown lying huddled up in blankets on the floor in the halls of the building." Photographs did not accompany the *Sun* article.⁴⁰

The Montevue photographs contained in the Lunacy Commission's 1908 report built the strongest case yet for abolishing the system of county care. Commission members had made five visits to Montevue in the space of several months, more than to any other such institution, carefully seeking out the most incriminating images. Another series of photographs taken in January 1909 with flash equipment were the result of what may have been a surprise night inspection by Dr. Herring. The secretary apparently wanted to document the egregious sleeping arrangements provided for the African American population. Young explained: "It is important to do this . . . shocking conditions among sleeping patients [were found] at a place where by daylight everything seemed right."⁴¹

Three of the five photographs in the report depict interiors.⁴² One of the most damning is the portrayal of the sleeping accommodations for African American men. The benches in the central hall that served as a day room had been cleared to one side. Patients lay crowded on the hard wooden floor of the hallway with minimal bedding, save for thin blankets to ward off the night cold. In the upper right foreground, a large wet area on the floor may have been the result of incontinence or the spilling of a "night bucket" provided to the patients to relieve themselves.



Sleeping conditions at Montevue Asylum as revealed during a night inspection, 1909. Maryland State Archives, MSA S195-113.)

The walls look dirty; a hole in the plaster can be seen to the left. The meagerness of this scene, notwithstanding the lack of physical comfort in this quite possibly unheated room and the altogether unwholesome atmosphere, spoke loudly of the inadequate care meted out by county institutions.

The second image clearly shows three African American men held in restraint. The barefoot man in the left foreground looks puzzled. His right hand thrust in his pocket obscures the fact that he wears shackles. A leather muff encloses the hands of the second patient, who looks squarely at the camera. The muff is at the optical center of the photograph drawing the eye to an object that was probably unfamiliar to most of those viewing the photograph. A third patient raises his hands and allows the visitors an unobstructed view of his chains. Two attendants to the right stare at the camera, one appearing almost hostile. There is nothing to indicate why the patients are held in restraint. The expressions of all three patients are non-threatening, prompting one to question the need for restraints. Are they being punished for their insanity?

The last photograph may answer that question. (See page 448, top left.) This is the image that the *Sun* described but did not publish. Here an elderly man lies upon a thin mattress on the floor of a cell. A chain, attached to the grating of the



African American men held in restraints at Montevue, c. 1909. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S 195-69B.)



Montevue Asylum after renovations that followed the photographic exposition, 1910. (Maryland State Archives, MSA GOVPUB 792531.)

window, leads to his manacled wrists. How could such a fragile, almost sickly man warrant this treatment? Herring evidently hoped that those who saw the photograph would understand the inherent absurdity of these conditions, prompting a visceral reaction of outrage and support for state care.

The photographs had the desired effect. In 1908 the Lunacy Commission characterized the conditions at fifteen county almshouses and asylums as very unsatisfactory; by 1910 that number had dropped to nine.⁴³ Montevue Asylum officials expressed indignation over the portrayal of their institution in the photographs. The asylum superintendent, stung by the criticism, countered: "Why didn't Dr. Herring show a picture of one of our wards for white patients? If he had done so, it would have shown conditions, at least as regards to cleanliness, as good as Springfield [State Hospital] can be."⁴⁴ He went on to explain why the African Americans were kept in such vastly different surroundings.

To its credit, Frederick County acted quickly and decisively. The threat that the commission would revoke Montevue's license due to overcrowding may have quickened their reaction.⁴⁵ The county fathers endorsed state care and began to upgrade Montevue during the interim before the introduction of state control. Redesigned wards for African Americans, with indoor toilets and bathing facilities,

ties, not to mention beds with mattresses in bedsteads, came as a result. No great efforts materialized at other almshouses or asylums. Several Eastern Shore counties seemed especially reluctant to devote additional funds to improving their facilities.⁴⁶ In a token gesture, after being apprised of the substandard conditions at their county's facility, the Civic Betterment Club of Talbot County demanded the removal of the almshouse board of trustees.⁴⁷

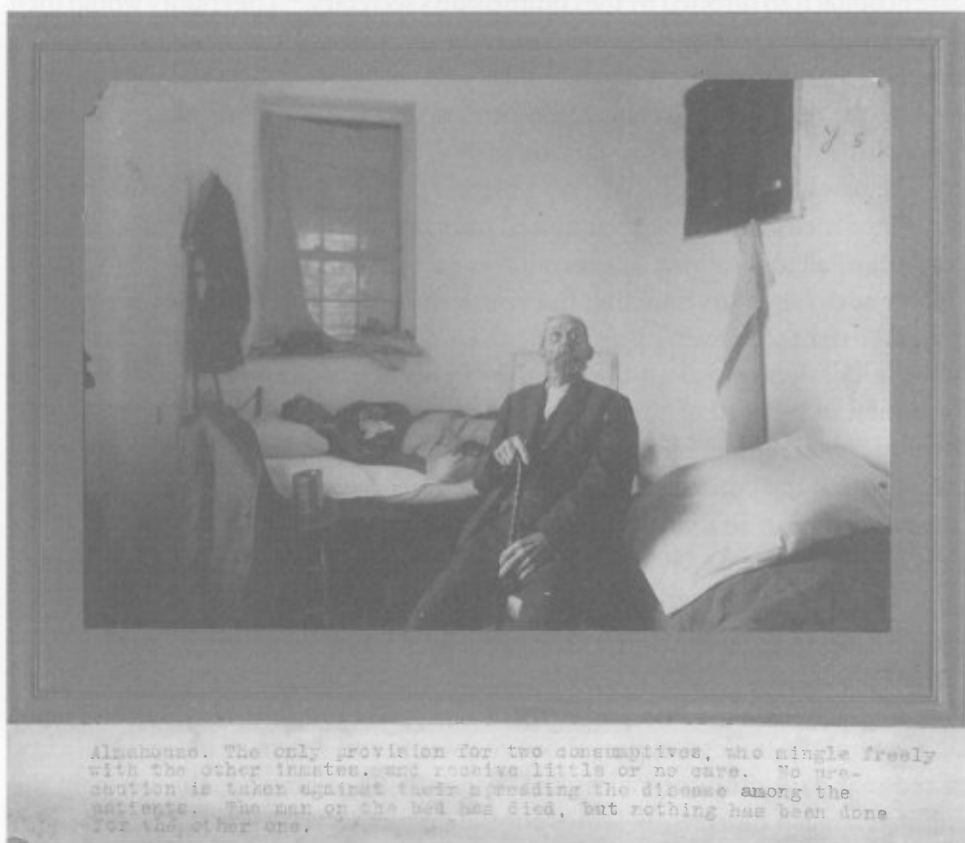
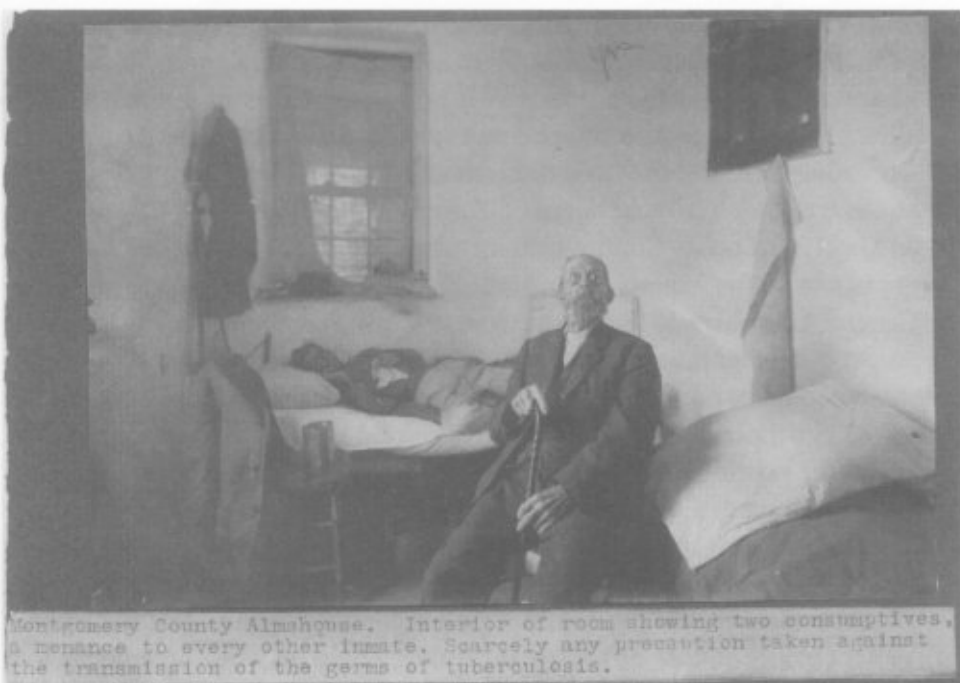
In May 1909, Lunacy Commission members with the assistance of state hospital officials and other experts began crafting proposed legislation to come before the General Assembly's 1910 session. Concurrently, consultation work began on the proper design for the additions needed at the various state hospitals. Two bills eventually would be put forward. The first would revise the State Care Act of 1904 that broadened the commission's powers. The second outlined the need for \$600,000 to expand the existing state mental hospital facilities and build a new facility for African Americans.

The revised State Care Act actually brought some enforceable regulatory power to the Lunacy Commission. No longer could county commissioners or private hospital operators ignore the commission's recommendations. In the new bill, any patient at any county or private institution could be sent immediately to a state hospital if so directed by the commission's secretary.⁴⁸ The county would then be financially responsible for the cost of the patient up to one hundred dollars annually, a sum that covered two-thirds of the actual cost with the state responsible for the remainder. Private sanitarium owners would lose revenue when paying patients were sent away in this manner.

The new bill also detailed the commission's inspection duties. The secretary or appointed members were to be allowed free access throughout the buildings and grounds of all institutions "on such days and such hours of the days and nights, and for such length of time that the visitor may choose."⁴⁹ Patients were also allowed the right to converse privately with commission inspectors. Another aspect of the bill designed to assist the secretary in his investigatory role came with the formation of a Board of Visitors in each county. Composed of five county residents of "good repute" chosen by the commission, the board's duty involved the inspection of the entire almshouse and the transmission of its findings, plus its recommendation, in a written report to the commission.⁵⁰

Opposition to the bill soon appeared. Rumblings on a number of grounds came from physicians who ran private asylums. Under the proposed bill, if the commission determined that a state institution could provide better rehabilitative care they would lose their patients, with the result that some doctors at private sanitariums might be injured financially by the program of state care.⁵¹

General misunderstanding about the wants and needs of the mentally impaired may have prompted a less than sympathetic response to the bill from the public at large. A nineteenth-century notion, though it is hard to know how wide-



spread it was, held that the insane required less in the way of creature comfort. To many, especially those who could recall humble beginnings in their own families, the lack of heat, a bland, repetitive diet, or a pile of straw upon the floor for a bed, did not constitute significant mistreatment. Almshouses themselves, owing to their indigent and marginalized population, were never intended to provide anything but the most spartan of accommodations.

Herring's photographs themselves may have prompted opposition to the bill. The images shamed Maryland. As one citizen observed, "the last few months has heralded Maryland to the country at large as a State where barbarities and cruelties are practiced upon its indigent insane, multiplying instances and exaggerating conditions." To this letter "Truthful," a former attendant at the Bay View Asylum replied: "The institutions are looked after in this manner: About once in every six months the grand jury takes a stroll through all of the wards and pronounces everything O.K., of course not noticing such trivial and unimportant things as wards that are supposed to accommodate 40 to 50 patients sometimes containing as high as 80 or 90 men."⁵²

Sometimes the photographs' captions were suspiciously excessive. An interior view showing two residents at the Montgomery County almshouse indicates that they have tuberculosis. The purpose of the image is to point out that "scarcely any precaution is taken against the germs of tuberculosis," but an additional line on one image informs, "the man on the bed has died, but nothing has been done for the other one." A public aware of the hazards of tuberculosis well knew that not segregating consumptives constituted improper care. Housing the dead with the living, however, further underscored the hellish atmosphere and signaled an absolutely horrific situation. Other reports also noted the dead were left in their beds for several days. Herring was selective in what he chose to photograph. The Carroll County almshouse, for example, an institution that generally won positive comments from the secretary, is represented only by an exterior view.

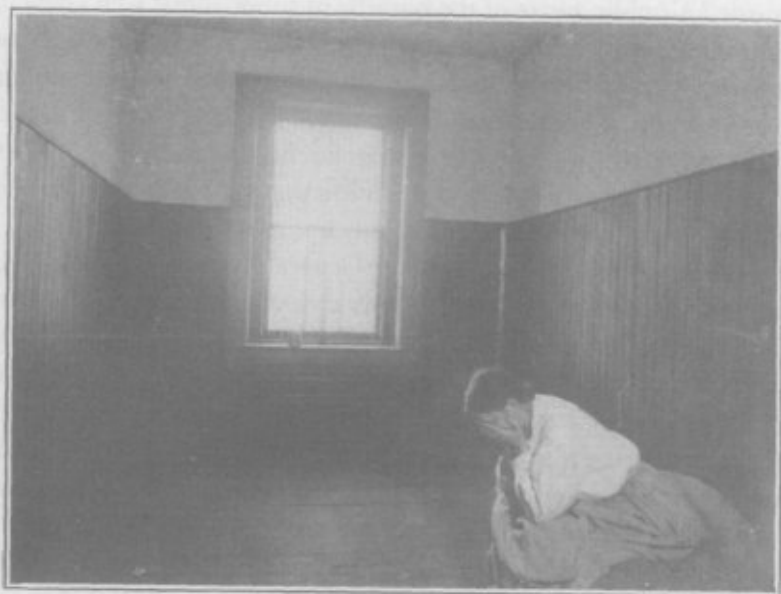
The opening of the 1910 session of the General Assembly in January marked the culmination of the Lunacy Commission's sixteen-month campaign. Both Herring and Young took up temporary residence in Annapolis to personally lobby for the passage of the State Care bill during the three-month legislative session. To assist them, they once again organized a large exhibition of images and restraining devices for display in the Maryland State House. For the entire session the historic Old Senate Chamber, where George Washington resigned his commission and command of the Continental Army, served as the viewing hall for the photographs. The display of images was strategically placed but a few steps from both the House and Senate chambers. The *Sun* informed its readers that the "photo-

Facing page: Patients in the Montgomery County almshouse with tuberculosis, c. 1909. Note the difference in the captions. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S195-73B and S195-3.)



"STATE CARE."

View of sewing-room in Springfield State Hospital. Patients are occupied, happy, contented, and contributing to their support. Contrast this scene with the one below.



"COUNTY CARE."

View of interior of room in a county almshouse. This poor woman has no occupation or recreation. Has been in this room for eight years, a continual expense and burden to the county. Practically nothing is being done for her mental disease.

graphs show the cells and dungeons of the county asylums. The overcrowding and inadequate accommodations afforded these unfortunates are graphically portrayed by these pictures.”⁵³ The commission contrasted the squalid almshouse scenes with complimentary views of state hospitals in Maryland and New York, where patients in the latter were engaged in work such as making shoes and clothing, and even printing and binding.

A February 9, 1910, state house meeting officially opened the exhibition. In advance of the speakers, Herring conducted personal tours of the displays while a brass concert band, comprising twenty children and young teens from the Home of the Feeble-Minded, serenaded the gathering audience. An overflow crowd filled the galleries and halls of the House chamber, forcing some members to relinquish their usual seats and stand against the walls. The governor, the comptroller, and the Speakers of the House and Senate delivered speeches in support of state care. William L. Marbury argued that “we cannot afford to have it said that the people of Maryland are neglectful of one of their highest obligations . . . the care of their own indigent insane—the most helpless of all mortals under the sun—our good State would be put to open shame in the eyes of the civilized world.”⁵⁴ Less than two weeks later, the House unanimously approved the legislation. The bill passed without amendments by a vote of 98 to 0 on February 17, 1910.⁵⁵ It was then sent to the Senate, where its passage proved to be more precarious.

Herring had made enemies along the way. Beginning what the *Sun* described as the “one of the protracted fights of the [legislative] session,”⁵⁶ Senator Peter J. Campbell of Baltimore, an ally of the private sanitarium owners, rose and moved that all the words after “A Bill” be struck from the proposal. After three hours of heated discussion Campbell’s motion was defeated.⁵⁷ Senators then put forth several amendments to limit the secretary’s power. Most were thinly veiled personal attacks on Herring. One involved itemizing expenditures by the secretary, suggesting that Herring might be “unwise and extravagant” as he had been in “statements he had made from time to time.” Another attempted to put “a ban on this man . . . [who] canvassed openly for his own good and his own advancement.” A third limited the hours the secretary might visit institutions, since Herring had appeared at “unseemly hours and demoralized patients by the use of flashlight photography.” Another sought to cut the secretary’s salary and expense allowance. Lastly, in a vain attempt to scuttle county-level non-partisan assistance for the commission, an amendment permitted the county commissioners to organize the local almshouse board of visitors.⁵⁸ After the better part of an afternoon had elapsed, the senators cast their votes, and the bill passed 19 to 7.⁵⁹

Facing page: The Lunacy Commission often paired unflattering almshouse images with complimentary hospital scenes to influence public opinion and gain support for their reforms. (Maryland State Archives, MSA GOVPUB 792532.)

Work on the Hospital for Negro Insane, later renamed Crownsville State Hospital, commenced in late April 1910. Thirty-one African American male patients from Montevue Asylum were put to work clearing the land and building a railroad spur to the hospital site. Arriving first in handcuffs and guarded by a dozen deputy sheriffs, the men "were told that they would be treated entirely differently, and that they would not be confined to cells or wear handcuffs or straight jackets." Each man was then issued an axe. With three orderlies to assist him, Dr. Robert J. Winterode, the appointed superintendent of Crownsville, "worked with these 'dangerous insane' Negroes all summer, cutting hundreds of crossties, and many tall poles for the electric wires, and had not a single accident. Best of all, this active life in the open greatly improved the mental condition of the patients and some of them were actually cured."⁶⁰ By 1913 all the mentally ill patients had been taken away from Montevue and the insane department closed.⁶¹

It is hard to assess to what degree conditions actually improved for those left behind in the almshouses and asylums. Though most of the indigent insane had been transferred elsewhere within a few years, other populations continued to languish in these settings. The 1912 Maryland Department of Charities and Corrections Annual Report estimated that 100 percent of the feeble-minded individuals and 60 percent of the epileptic cases were still housed in these institutions.⁶²

The Lunacy Commission Photographs in the Context of Maryland State Reports

The first steps toward the correction of any abuse or evil are publicity of the facts and the awakening of public interest; after this the pressure of public opinion is sufficient to bring about a reform.

— From the preface of the 24th Annual Report of
the Maryland State Lunacy Commission, 1909

Herring's photographs and the Lunacy Commission's campaign to publicize them were important in bringing mental health care reform to Maryland. What had been hidden in the text of reports for decades suddenly appeared as images before politicians and the public. Herring made certain that this time no one could look away. The photographs challenged all Marylanders and, for a brief moment, caused them to pause and reflect on the progress of their society and its priorities.⁶³

During the early twentieth century, Maryland politicians, reflecting the citizens they represented, struggled with questions of reform. Governor Crothers, considered a Progressive, gave his support both to the state care and the campaign to disfranchise black voters. Crothers, Marbury, and most of the legislature believed that reform included removing what they termed "the ignorant voter" from the rolls.⁶⁴ They often equated progress with building projects. Baltimore, the last



African American patients from the Hospital for the Negro Insane (later Crownsville State Hospital) at work cutting railroad cross-ties, 1910. (Maryland State Archives, MSA S195-42A.)

major city without a modern sewerage system, embarked upon a comprehensive construction program during this period.⁶⁵ A good macadam road was a wise use of state monies, bringing accolades upon the county representative or senator who championed local interests. Better roads brought the means to develop the state's natural resources and inaugurate better economic times for most citizens. The roads themselves, used on a daily basis, provided a constant reminder of their necessity to everyday life. Though road-building proved costly—\$5,300 per mile in 1905—it was a shared expense from which everyone derived benefits.⁶⁶ The advent of the automobile and its enthusiastic embrace by the populace ensured roads would receive additional monies. By 1908 the sum of one million dollars per year was budgeted in that direction with very little political opposition.

Not all reforms, and not all forms of progress, moved so swiftly. For reasons not yet fully understood, the core of upper- and upper-middle class women who championed causes such as playgrounds for children, pure milk, and smoke abatement during the Progressive Era, did not embrace the cause of the mentally impaired. Hidden away in almshouses, often in the most inaccessible areas in the counties, the pauper insane remained invisible and faceless to the general public

for decades until the Lunacy Commission photographed their mistreatment. The commission understood that the needs of a marginalized population were no match for the general public's desire for good roads, yet in the absence of a broad-based citizens' campaign the commission had to plead its case before that very public. Herring's photographs brought that public face to face with the reality within their state.

In the final analysis, money remained an issue. Hard economics—state road construction and the public's aversion to paying additional taxes—worked against the proper care of all of the state's mentally impaired. A contemporary appraisal of the State Care Act noted that it did not in fact provide for true state care. The counties' providing \$100 of the \$150 to maintain patients in state hospitals, "leaves the matter in a rather confused and unsatisfactory condition," commented one observer.⁶⁷ Maryland's population grew dramatically every decade, and so did its number of insane. In 1916 state hospitals were still being enlarged to accommodate all the patients from the almshouses, but an adequate number of spaces never materialized. By the 1930s state hospitals were themselves overcrowded.

The photographic exposé engineered by the Lunacy Commission, though it was not the first reform movement in Maryland, appears to be unique in the annals of Maryland state publications. The use of illustrations in Maryland government reports began in the first half of the nineteenth century,⁶⁸ but save for tipped-in maps or charts, most reports lacked illustrations. Most documents did not require images, and early on, the cost of making a lithograph or engraving for a relatively small press run simply did not make economic sense.⁶⁹ Not until the third quarter of the nineteenth century does one notice the increased use of images in state government reports, and then it was usually limited to the frontispiece.⁷⁰

The 1890s ushered in a new era of photographs, not artistic interpretations taken from photographs, as the main source of illustration. Photo-lithography provided a less expensive means to illustrate publications. The 1894 publication, *Governor Frank Brown's Message*, is notable for its approximately thirty views of state institutions and private facilities throughout Maryland, a visual record of almost all the institutions that receive state financial support. By the late 1890s the annual reports of the Maryland Geologic Survey contained landscape views and full-color lithographic specimens of rocks.⁷¹ Not until the first decade of the twentieth century were images used by a wide range of departments and commissions. The department of education, the state roads commission, the conservation commission and individual institutions such as the House of Corrections, the Deaf and Dumb School, and the second Hospital for the Insane (later renamed Springfield State Hospital) all used illustrations. The 1904 *Maryland Manual*, a directory of state agencies and official contacts, sports a three-quarters length portrait of Governor Edwin Warfield.

The Lunacy Commission photographs of the almshouses, however, constitute

a radically different use of images in state reports. Dr. Herring's photographic exposé, uncovering as it did the unsatisfactory conditions at county almshouses and asylums, constituted a well-engineered attempt to mold public opinion in favor of reform legislation through the use of selected images. Publicizing the images to a wide audience, thus garnering the support of an interested public, ultimately forced state legislators to pass the necessary legislation and an appropriations bill that allowed for the transfer of patients from county institutions into modern state mental hospitals. In theory, with the passage of the revised State Care Act of 1910, the scenes that Dr. Chancellor had witnessed in 1877 would occur no more.

NOTES

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1. C. W. Chancellor, M.D., *Report on the Public Charities, Reformatories, Prisons and Almshouses ... July 1877* (Frederick, Md., 1877), 13.
2. No comprehensive comparative study of Maryland and the treatment of its mentally impaired exists. Only generalizations, therefore, can be made at this time.
3. Henry M. Hurd, M.D., ed., *The Institutional Care of The Insane in the United States and Canada* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1916; repr. New York: Arno Press, 1973), 2:518–19.
4. *Ibid.*, 523.
5. *Ibid.*, 526. By the late 1840s the legislature had recognized the need for larger facilities.
6. *Ibid.*, 534–35. The Springfield State Hospital in Sykesville, Md.
7. Frank Brown, *Message of Governor Frank Brown* (Annapolis: State Printing Office, 1894), Governor [Miscellaneous] 1894–1920, GOVPUB 784847-1, Maryland State Archives, passim.
8. Almshouses, or poorhouses, existed in Maryland as early as the eighteenth century. In 1773 the Maryland General Assembly authorized poorhouses in St. Mary's, Harford, and Anne Arundel Counties as well as Baltimore. The poorhouse was to be divided into two departments: one for the poor, the other for the insane. Supported by the individual counties, local officials determined which residents could be housed in the institution. In addition to the resident population, the almshouse offered aid to the transient poor by providing a meal and, on occasion, a place to sleep. In the 1830s a plan was engineered whereby the almshouse farm and its residents might underwrite a portion of the cost of administration by the harvesting of raw silk. Several Eastern Shore Maryland almshouses planted stands of mulberry trees, essential for silkworms to produce the product. The Maryland climate ultimately proved hostile to the enterprise, and it was abandoned. Most almshouses were situated on additional acreage that, when planted, provided supplemental food for the residents.
9. For a full description see the 1874 annual report of the Maryland Department of Health.
10. Chancellor, 1877 *Report*, 10, 85, 87.
11. The reasons behind the founding of the Lunacy Commission remain obscure. The expansion of the Maryland State Department of Health at this time may have made it necessary

to shift the regular inspection of facilities elsewhere. The passage of the act establishing the commission appears to have been unanimous. The signing of the act into law elicited no commentary in the general press with one exception. A woman from Chicago, who had been present during the entire session, lobbied for the insane to have the right to paper, envelopes, and stamps for purposes of communicating with state officials.

12. Annual reports of the Lunacy Commission, 1887 through 1908, *passim*.

13. *Maryland Medical Journal* (September 1908), 370. As reported by the Lunacy Commission: "We have witnessed . . . an able-bodied attendant [rain] blows upon the head of an obstreperous insane patient."

14. Chancellor, *Report*, 128; this is true of the Kent County African American facility.

15. *18th Annual Report of the Lunacy Commission*, 11.

16. George J. Preston as quoted from the Lunacy Commission's *15th Annual Report*, 5.

17. See the *House Journal* and *Senate Journal* of 1904. No comments upon the bill's passage appear in either the *Baltimore Sun* or the *Baltimore American*, two of the most widely circulated newspapers in the state.

18. By no means was Maryland the only state in which such conditions were present. The State of New York commissioned its own review of almshouses in 1864. The conditions uncovered prompted a reform movement that culminated in the passage of New York's State Care Act of 1890. New York was the first state in the nation to enact such legislation.

19. See *25th Annual Report of the Lunacy Commission* [1910] (Baltimore: Lucas Bros., 1910), 34.

20. Hugh Young, *A Surgeon's Autobiography* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940), 408.

21. *Maryland Medical Journal* (November 1908), 500.

22. Arthur S. Link and Richard L. McCormick, *Progressivism* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: Harlan Davidson, 1983), *passim*.

23. *Baltimore Sun*, February 23, 1910.

24. *Maryland Medical Journal* (November 1909), 180.

25. *Baltimore Sun*, October 4 and 5, 1908. The previous Lunacy Commission secretary, Dr. George J. Preston, had convinced a *Sun* reporter to investigate the conditions at the almshouses and report his findings in advance of the previous year's meeting of the General Assembly.

26. Report of the Grand Jury, Circuit Court of Frederick County, 1896, Maryland State Archives.

27. *Baltimore Sun*, October 5, 1908. Frederick County, in 1908, stood second in the state in terms of wealth and population according to the *Sun*.

28. See the Maryland Lunacy Commission, minutes for November 1908, Maryland State Archives, and the *23rd Annual Report of the Lunacy Commission* [1908], chart in appendix portion detailing the counties endorsing state care.

29. Maryland Lunacy Commission, minutes for June 23, 1909, Maryland State Archives.

30. The Lunacy Commission campaign and the photographs did act as a catalyst in professionalizing psychiatry in Maryland. The crusade for better treatment of the pauper insane, prompted largely by Herring's images, brought together public and private practitioners interested in the state care issue. At the founding of the Maryland Psychiatric Society in November 1908, the organizers hoped to discuss "practical questions relating to the care of the insane . . . and foster interest in bringing about state care in 1910." (*Maryland Medical Journal* [November 1908], 494.) To this end, the 1908–1910 member meetings always featured at least one lecture on issues relating to almshouse care. The *Maryland Medical Journal* later published a number of the papers. The 1909 founding of the Phipps Clinic at the Johns

Hopkins Hospital, and the successful recruitment of Dr. Adolf Meyer as its director, fulfilled a *Journal* prophesy that Maryland would be “on the threshold of a new era of psychiatry in our state.” [Ibid., 494]

31. *Maryland Medical Journal* (March 1909), 64.
32. Herring to Meyer, December 14, 1908, Adolf Meyer Collection, McChesney Medical Archives, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore.
33. See “The Problem of the State in the Care of the Insane,” *American Journal of Insanity*, 65 (April 1909): 704 (copy contained in the Adolf Meyers Papers).
34. Herring to Meyer, March 19, 1909, McChesney Medical Archives.
35. *Baltimore News*, January 19, 1909.
36. *Maryland Medical Journal* (March 1909), 137.
37. Meyer to Herring, March 4, 1909, Adolf Meyer Collection, McChesney Medical Archives.
38. *Baltimore American*, February 10, 1910.
39. *Baltimore Sun*, February 10, 1910, Marbury as quoted in his speech. Politically conservative, Marbury went on to play key roles in the Anti-Suffragist Campaign and the anti-pacifist “Patriotic” movement of the World War I era.
40. Another unidentified Maryland newspaper did publish a number of Herring’s images, according to *The [Frederick County] Daily News*, April 19, 1909.
41. *Baltimore Sun*, March 10, 1910.
42. The remaining two images used are exterior shots, the same ones that appear on pp. 450 and 451.
43. See the fold-out charts in the front of the twenty-third (1908) and twenty-fifth (1910) Lunacy Commission annual reports.
44. *The [Frederick County] Daily News*, April 19, 1909.
45. If this tactic did not prompt change, the attorney general was instructed to determine whether the commission possessed the power to revoke the license of a facility. Attorney General Straus argued that though the right to revoke a license “was not expressly given . . . the statute should be construed liberally . . . to revoke licenses for the conduct of asylums or retreats for the insane.” See Lunacy Commission minutes for June 23, 1909.
46. Kent, St. Mary’s, Talbot, Dorchester, Wicomico, and Worcester Counties. The only western shore facilities with persistently poor conditions were Bay View and the Montgomery County almshouse. See Lunacy Commission twenty-fifth annual report, 1910.
47. *Baltimore Sun*, May 23, 1909.
48. *Laws of Maryland*, 1910 (Annapolis: State Printing Office, 1910), Article LIX, chapter 715, Section 38a, page 190
49. Ibid., Section 20, 187.
50. Ibid., Section 38e, 191–92.
51. Young, *Autobiography*, 408.
52. *Baltimore Sun*, March 22, 1910.
53. Ibid., February 9, 1910
54. Ibid., February 10, 1910.
55. *House Journal* 1910, 334.
56. *Baltimore Sun*, April 5, 1910.
57. Young, *Autobiography*, 411.
58. *Baltimore Sun*, April 5, 1910. The *Sun* mistakenly inserted Board of “Trustees” when it meant “Visitors.” The Lunacy Commission never possessed the power to appoint the board of trustees at the county institutions.
59. *Senate Journal* 1910, 2,037.

60. Young, *Autobiography*, 411.

61. *First Biennial Report of the Board of Managers, Crownsville State Hospital, October 1, 1911 to September 30, 1913* (n.p.), 27.

62. *Charities and Corrections Annual Report, 1912* (Annapolis: State Printing Office, 1913), 44. The almshouse, renamed the less offensive "county home," persisted for decades with a few still functioning in the 1960s. Some buildings were torn down, others remain. Montevue's building for white patients was leveled in 1987 with little protest. Queen Anne's County's almshouse, an eighteenth-century structure, underwent a restoration in the 1950s and is now, presumably, a fine private residence worth hundreds of thousands of dollars. Baltimore County's almshouse currently houses the county historical society. Little evidence now exists of the suffering that once took place within the scrubbed facades.

63. Herring, without the aid of his camera, would later perform similar investigations on the care of the insane in South Carolina and Louisiana.

64. The larger Maryland citizenry thought differently. Though an act of disenfranchisement passed the legislature it had to be endorsed by the citizens before enactment could take place. When presented to Marylanders in the form of a referendum the measure was defeated.

65. A curious set of lantern slides documenting the projects initiated during the administration of Mayor Mahool resides at the Maryland Historical Society.

66. Maryland Geological Survey, *First Report on State Highway Construction* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1906), 326.

67. John Donaldson, *State Administration in Maryland* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1916), 540.

68. Americans were becoming more and more a visually oriented culture. In the 1820s, lithographs allowed for the wider use of images in publications. Illustrated magazines became a part of mainstream society during the 1850s. These publications used steel engravings and lithographs based on correspondents' sketches or photographs to portray the carnage of Civil War battlefields. The images of war dead taken by Matthew Brady, made into engravings and published, provided Americans with visual evidence of the casualties reported in the text of newspaper articles. As technology advanced in the 1890s, publishers used photogravure to present actual photographic images, not mere artistic interpretations of these images.

69. Some institutions did, in fact, contract large-scale lithographs of their buildings. These were often subscription ventures where individuals paid a specific sum before the actual print had been pulled. Some were done as part of fundraising ventures.

70. C. William Chancellor's 1877 *Report on the Reformatories* contains an engraving of the Reformatory for Colored Children, a bird's-eye view of the new building and its grounds. Enoch Pratt, sympathetic to causes related to African Americans, donated the land for this private institution. It is probable that the managers, or Pratt himself, underwrote the cost of preparing the illustration.

71. The work of the Maryland Geological Survey directly related to the construction of roads.

The Refugees from the Island of St. Domingo in Maryland

WALTER CHARLTON HARTRIDGE

On July 10, 1793, the citizens of Baltimore were surprised to learn that during the afternoon and night of the previous day a fleet of twenty-two vessels from St. Domingo had cast anchor off Fells Point. More than five hundred whites and Negroes lay aboard the ships.

Still greater was their astonishment when the cause of this mass emigration was known. Cap-François, metropolis of the French colony of St. Domingo and asylum for thousands of Creoles whose plantations had been seized by rebellious slaves, had fallen into the hands of the Negroes. After a frightful massacre the town had been sacked. The surviving whites and those servants who had remained faithful to them had been forced into the harbor and had thrown themselves on the mercy of ship captains and sailors. At midnight of June 23 a flotilla of one hundred and thirty merchantmen, crowded with five thousand refugees, had put to sea, its path lighted by the glow from the burning city.¹

Tales of Negro insurrection could hardly fail to arouse the sympathy for the dispossessed Creoles of a slave-holding community. "As soon as it was known, that our unfortunate Allies had arrived," the editor of the *Maryland Journal* announced, "every Exertion was made by our animated citizens to alleviate their Distress."² Baltimoreans assembled at the Merchant's Exchange and appointed a committee of merchants to see what steps could be taken to aid the refugees. On the morning of July 10, the committee boarded thirteen vessels and interviewed three hundred and fifty-one white passengers, of whom one hundred were women and children. "The Distresses of those unhappy People," they reported, "have not been exaggerated or perhaps equaled by the Information already given to the Public." The committee brought back the news that refugees in other ships headed for Baltimore would outnumber those already in the harbor. A "great exertion of humanity" was required to supply their wants.³

"Actuated by Motives of pity for the helpless Part of the Passengers," the committee, on their own authority, provisioned the ships with fresh vegetables, hoping that their decision would be approved by their fellow citizens. Further aid would be made on some "regular System" until assistance could be obtained from

This article first appeared in the MdHM in June 1943. We reprint it now as an introduction to Paula Stoner Reed's forthcoming article on the Vincendiere family, French Planters who left St. Domingo during the slave revolt and then settled in Frederick County. Their home, the Hermitage, still stands.

the French Minister or from the American Government. The committee resolved that subscriptions be opened immediately, one-third of each pledge to be paid at once, the remainder when called for. The money would be turned over to the French Consul, who had promised to find the number of those in actual want and to appoint a second committee to receive the funds and to keep an account of expenditures. The consul's committee was to purchase supplies and to provide houses for the refugees. As the plight of the St. Domingans required immediate attention, the committee of merchants made a second resolution that individuals be appointed to call on the citizens of Baltimore, requesting them to receive refugees in their houses "in such numbers as would be convenient to each family."⁴

The group who had gathered at the Exchange unanimously adopted these resolutions. Without more ado they chose eleven men to canvass the town. Baltimore was divided into districts and the next day two gentlemen called on every family in their area.

The response was wholehearted. Not only did many inhabitants give the refugees beds, but they also "politely furnished them with the Participation of their Tables." Subscriptions were opened on July 10 and two days later nearly eleven thousand dollars had been pledged.⁵ The money was sorely needed, for meanwhile other French vessels had arrived, "particularly Yesterday, when a Number came to Anchor, several of which are full of Passengers."⁶ By July 13, thirty-six vessels from Cap-François lay in the harbor.⁷

The rest of the State, when appealed to by a Committee of Correspondence, proved no less generous than Baltimore. A gentleman of Annapolis placed a commodious brick house in London Town at the disposal of the committee and offered to turn out the tenants of his Annapolis mansion in favor of two respectable Creole families, whose transportation from Baltimore he promised to pay. A resident of Chester Town gave one hundred dollars. "Your town," he wrote the Baltimore committee, "have behaved most nobly upon this occasion, and [I] hope their example may excite the benevolence of other places."⁸ His confidence was not misplaced. To a writer in the *Journal* it seemed that the towns and counties of Maryland vied with each other in assisting the St. Domingans. On the Eastern Shore, the neighborhood of Centerville, Queens Town, and Wye forwarded eight hundred dollars "out of a still increasing Subscription." Talbot County responded liberally, Georgetown and Annapolis were "eminently distinguished by the largeness of their Subscriptions," as were Frederick Town and Hagerstown. Bladensburg, although small in population, was not "the least in Exertion." Its townspeople sent five hundred dollars and a letter approving the committee's work.⁹

Instances of individual charity have not gone unrecorded. William Tinker, of Fell's Point, purchased a quantity of provisions which he carried aboard the fleet and distributed to the needy.¹⁰ "For the benefit of the FRENCH SUFFERERS, Late from Cape-François," Messrs. McGrath and Godwin sponsored a performance of

"The favorite Comedy of the West-Indian" and a farce called "The Citizen." "As compassion for the unfortunate objects of this Benefit happily pervades every rank," they deemed it expedient to abolish differences in the price of seats. Dollar tickets admitted their holders to every part of the house." A concert of vocal and instrumental music under the direction of Messrs. Kalkbrenner and Miller was given on July 24. The proceeds went to "our distressed brethren the French."¹² The public was assured that the greatest efforts had been made to render the entertainment "grand, beyond any Thing of the Kind ever exhibited in Baltimore." The star performer was Mademoiselle Buron, formerly "Singer to the Queen of France," who had been "obliged to leave that happy situation and fly to the West-Indies whence she had come to the United States."¹³

There was, of course, another side to the picture. A writer in the *Journal* complained that too many Baltimoreans were "of a Disposition to take advantage, even of the Misfortunes of their Friends. Our Markets are shamefully raised; and the exorbitant Prices of Provisions are severely felt as well by the Honest, but poor Labourer of our own Country, as by the plundered People who have fled the Cape to save the Relicts of their Families." The person who would acquire wealth by such means, he philosophized, must be debased indeed. "Some Measures should be pursued to blast this disgraceful Evil."¹⁴

A few days after this protest appeared, the *Advertiser* carried a specific account of dishonesty. "A Poor Frenchman" from Cap-François approached a farmer in the market and inquired the price of eggs; "the r__l, designing to take advantage of the stranger's ignorance of our language, &. demanded a *dollar per dozen*; the Frenchman thought it dear, but uncertain of the usual price of our markets, at length procured a *dozen* for *three quarters of a dollar*—perhaps the only sum misfortune had left him." The editor of the *Advertiser* declared that the farmer's villainy called for police action."¹⁵

The St. Domingans, however, did not always come out at the short end of the bargain. Thomas Swaine lamented the fact that he rented two horses from his stable to a refugee who said that he was going to be married and wanted the horses for only one day. Several weeks passed and the horses were not returned. "As this [is] an Imposition," Swaine offered a reward of ten dollars for the return of his property.¹⁶

But even with the best will in the world, the citizens of Maryland were not in a position to support the Creoles indefinitely. On July 22 the Committee of Correspondence sent a circular letter to "the commercial and other towns of the United States" in the interest of the St. Domingans. By that date fifty-three ships had brought one thousand whites and five hundred mulattoes and Negroes to Baltimore. With the twelve thousand dollars obtained from Marylanders, provision had been made for one thousand refugees, four hundred of whom were received into private families.¹⁷

Although the call upon “humanity had been peculiar and extraordinary” and the aid given by Marylanders had exceeded expectation, the whole subscription “is only equal to a relief that must shortly terminate, unless aided by the benevolent and humane in every other part of the United States.” More sufferers were arriving daily and “by the peculiar circumstances of their flight, many, who heretofore enjoyed affluence, are destitute of even the most necessary clothing.”

The committee had informed Genêt, the French Minister, of his countrymen’s plight and had asked him to contribute toward their relief. Genêt did not reply. Because of the immediate need of the refugees, the committee decided to treat them as if left entirely to individual charity, with the reservation, however, of returning the subscriptions should the Minister give a favorable answer.

Some benevolent inhabitants of Philadelphia, the letter concluded, had opened already a correspondence with the Baltimore committee and had intimated that they would be large contributors.¹⁸

In December the plight of the refugees was called to the attention of the Maryland House of Delegates.¹⁹ This body voted forty-five hundred dollars “for the temporary relief of the suffering French from St. Domingo.” Three gentlemen from Baltimore—Messrs. Patterson, Scott, and Sterret—were empowered to draw five hundred dollars a week for nine weeks, from the State treasury and to distribute those sums among the Creoles.²⁰

A committee from the Maryland Legislature then went to Philadelphia and asked Congress to assume financial responsibility for the St. Domingans. Although sympathy for the refugees was universal, several congressmen hesitated to expend the money of their constituents “on objects of benevolence.” James Madison of Virginia was the leader of this group. He expressed the fear that, in aiding the refugees, a dangerous precedent would be established “which might hereafter be perverted to the countenance of purposes very different from those of charity.”²¹

Elias Boudinot of New Jersey, on the other hand, felt that Americans were bound by “every moral obligation that could influence mankind” to relieve a people “at present our allies, and who had formerly been our benefactors.”²²

The scales were turned in favor of the refugees when the congressmen were informed that Genêt was making discriminations among the émigrés, promising assistance to those of his political party, but completely ignoring the aristocrats. In February, 1794, Congress passed “an Act providing for the relief of such of the inhabitants of Saint Domingo, resident within the United States, as may be found in want of support.” George Washington was empowered to distribute fifteen thousand dollars, “in such manner, and by the hands of such persons, as shall, in the opinion of the President, appear most conducive to the humane purposes of this act.”²³

Two thousand dollars of this amount were divided among four hundred refugees in Maryland.

The St. Domingans were grateful for the relief extended them. An anonymous

refugee lamented the fact that so many of his countrymen were not acquainted with the English language, "which, they doubt, could not furnish them with words expressive of their real sentiments," and begged the printers of the *Advertiser* to convey to their benefactors, "with the strongest expressions they want," his people's appreciation. "Please to tell them that if we never have it in our power to discharge this debt, we are in hopes that some way or other it will not remain unacquitted, and that the Almighty will not be deaf to the fervent prayers addressed to him for their happiness and the prosperity and peace of their blessed country."²⁴

While the campaign for funds was under way, "The inhabitants of Cape-François" made public testimony of an esteem "that shall possess our hearts till our latest breath, that shall be perpetuated in the hearts of our children, whom it will be our duty to bring up in these sentiments for you." A pathetic note crept into the address; the refugees feared that calumnies would pursue them to their friendly asylum. Enemies, "envious of that humane concern with which you endeavor to make us forget our misfortunes, may endeavor still to persecute us, by attempting to rob us of your esteem." The refugees assured their hosts of their peaceful disposition. "The great sensations of the mind are far beyond the most impassioned powers of language, and your hearts are sufficiently acquainted with them to judge what must be the extent of our feelings."²⁵

Further acknowledgment was made in "an elegant and affecting Discourse to his emigrated Flock" by the Reverend Adrien Cibot, the former Superior-General of the Clergy in St. Domingo. After dwelling on the unworthiness of the Creoles, whose transgressions and infidelity had provoked the wrath of Heaven, he extolled the virtues of the Baltimoreans in extravagant apostrophes. "O worthy and generous Inhabitants of Baltimore! O, all you who dwell on this Continent! O, our Brethren and Benefactors! may this heroical Act of Benevolence be told and proclaimed amidst all Nations of both Hemispheres! These my Sentiments, and those of my Fellow-Citizens."²⁶

The colonists of St. Domingo, Cibot declared, had sworn a brotherly friendship for Americans. They desired to constitute henceforth one people and wished for nothing more earnestly than to be worthy of that union by endeavoring to imitate the virtues of their hosts.

That these expressions were heartfelt and were not invitations for further aid is attested by Berquin-Duvallon, an attorney from le Cap. Ten years after the destruction of his native city when the refugees who remained in Baltimore were self-supporting, he wrote: "Baltimore immortalized herself in the eyes of France by the magnanimity with which she received the suffering colonists into her bosom." The legislators at Annapolis respected but one precept, the *caritas humani generis*, and Berquin-Duvallon contrasted their unselfishness with the indifference of the French Creoles of Louisiana toward their own blood kin, the French Creoles of St. Domingo, who landed in their province.²⁷

Many were the occupations that the émigrés pursued. Those possessed of capital engaged in trade, while others who had been planters on the Island, introduced in the neighborhood of Baltimore French methods of husbandry.²⁸

Teaching became the vocation of the cultivated refugees. In 1795 the widow Lacombe, "an accomplished Creole of St. Domingo," opened a boarding-school for girls in South Street. Her seminary was patronized by the fashionable world of Baltimore and Madame Lacombe was able to employ on her faculty several émigrés, among them two priests, Fathers Dubourg and Moranvillé.²⁹

Paul-Aimé Fleury left Baltimore for the country. He kept a school at Upper Falls, but closed it after his marriage in October, 1794, to Clare Young and thenceforth superintended the planting of Woodbine, his wife's farm in Baltimore County. Fleury's descendents still live on the property.³⁰

Other refugees advertized for pupils in the newspapers. Two young gentlemen, "of untainted morals, being obliged by the late disasters at Cape-François, to make use of some accomplishments intended for their amusement," offered to teach drawing, a little painting, music, and the violin.³¹ Marye, also from Le Cap, gave lessons in vocal music, but his clientele was limited to persons knowing French, as he did not understand English.³²

Mademoiselle Buron, encouraged by her reception at a charity concert, engaged Grant's Assembly Room and on the evening of July 31 sang for the benefit of herself and her aged parents. It was reported in the press that she justified every expectation. Her voice had exquisite sweetness and considerable volume; "and the several beautiful airs she sang, accompanied by the harp and piano-forte, were received with the greatest applause by a numerous and genteel audience."³³ The receipts enabled her father to establish himself as a tuner of musical instruments.³⁴

The foils were not neglected. J. Pinaud, a fencing master of Paris and London, arrived in Baltimore with the St. Domingans and proclaimed a "fencing assault" at the Sign of the Indian Queen. He expressed the hope of opening a school.³⁵ Dr. Robin from St. Domingo, who had been a pensioner of the king of Prussia, taught tachygraphy—"Shorthand, the art of writing, as fast as the saying."³⁶

More practical, perhaps, than their fellow refugees, Marex and his wife operated a coffee and boarding house à la *mode française* in the house of Solomon Allen;³⁷ Peter Vandebussche, "the great Tobacco Manufacturer," formerly of the Rue du Bac, Cap-François, set up a snuff and tobacco manufactory in Baltimore, whence he intended to distribute his brands throughout the country,³⁸ and the Sieur Ponder, "échappe au massacres du Cap-François," maintained a wig-making establishment in Gay Street.³⁹

The circulating library that Louis Pascault established in 1793 catered primarily to the "Accommodation and Amusement" of the refugees themselves, but in order to read "the best French Authors" many Americans joined.⁴⁰ When in 1796 the Library Company of Baltimore was founded, a Frenchman, Lean Mondésir,

was made librarian. Mondésir held the position for only two months. He was succeeded in October, 1796, by the Abbé Georges de Pérrigny, a St. Domingan priest, who since his arrival in the country had enjoyed the hospitality of Charles Carroll at Doughoregan Manor. An annual salary of three hundred and fifty dollars was voted him in 1797; and the stipend was later increased. After serving as librarian for fifteen years, de Pérrigny obtained a six months' leave of absence and the appointment, as his deputy, of François Messionier, the French Vice-Consul. De Pérrigny overstayed his furlough. In June, 1812, Archbishop Carroll, president of the Company, reported to the Board that he had "no other intelligence from or concerning the Abbé de Pérrigny, than, that he was, so far, pleased with his situation in Martinico and enjoyed his health to a great degree. He intimated no intention to return, nor has he written a line to the President." Messionier succeeded to the post, but resigned later in the same year. He was the last of the Company's French librarians.⁴¹

Several doctors came to Baltimore from St. Domingo. Their experiences with diseases of warm climates and their knowledge of remedies that were useful in epidemics stood the community in good stead.

Pierre Chatard (1767–1847) was not only an outstanding physician of his day, but was the founder of the "Chatard medical dynasty" which has furnished Baltimore with doctors for five generations. Dr. Chatard had received an excellent education in France. A licentiate in arts of the College of Toulouse, he won his medical degree at Montpellier in 1788, and during the following two years studied under Dessault at the Hôtel Dieu in Paris. Returning to St. Domingo, Chatard settled on his father's plantation in the Quartier de Plaisance. In 1794 he fled from the Island. The ship on which he took passage landed at Wilmington, and there Dr. Chatard became an American citizen and joined the Medical Society of Delaware. As he was "desirous to continue the exercise of his profession on a greater theatre," he removed to Baltimore in July, 1797.⁴² Friendless and without financial resources, Chatard addressed himself to the Baltimore public, through the columns of the *Federal Gazette*. "It is not to boast of himself," he wrote, "or to promise wonders, (as is always the case with quacks) that Doctor Chatard takes this way to make himself known; it is only because he has no friends nor acquaintances here to make for him, that first and essential step toward fame—time and circumstances, he hopes will do the rest."⁴³

Time and circumstances were kind to Dr. Chatard: the yellow fever epidemic of 1797 and 1800 brought him clients and reputation. Cordell, the historian of Maryland medicine, records that his "superior education and acquirements gave to his opinions and statements great weight, and scarcely anyone in the profession then here—distinguished as it was . . . —could speak with as great authority." In a letter sent to the *Medical Repository* Chatard stated that he had attended yellow fever cases, both in St. Domingo and in Baltimore, and that he regarded the dis-

ease as a bilious fever. Although in 1797 he cured many patients by a lancet, as Dr. Rush had done in Philadelphia, in the epidemic of 1800 he ordered venesection in only two instances. Chatard recommended cold baths to sufferers and assured them that the disease was not necessarily fatal, although, he added dryly, "the flight of physicians from the city was not well adapted to remove such an impression."⁴⁴

His position established, Pierre Chatard was appointed consulting physician to the Baltimore Hospital in 1812 and later joined the faculty of Washington University. He was a prolific writer, and one of his papers is declared to be the earliest Baltimore publication which refers to diseases of the eye. So meticulously did he keep his records that several years after his death Dr. Van Bibber was able to compile an analysis from his practice of four thousand cases of childbirth.⁴⁵

In 1801 Dr. Chatard was married to a refugee, Jeanne-Marie-Françoise-Adelaide Boisson. One of their sons, Frederick, won a place in American naval and military history. As commander of the sloop-of-war *Saratoga*, he co-operated with Commander Paulding in the defeat of General Walker's filibustering expedition to Nicaragua; and casting his lot with the Confederacy in 1861, he commanded the batteries at Evansport on the Potomac, and later became chief of heavy artillery and constructor of batteries on the peninsula under General Magruder.⁴⁶

Another son, Ferdinand-Edmé, took his medical degree at the University of Maryland in 1826, studied in London, Paris, and Edinburgh, and on his return to Baltimore succeeded to his father's practice. Two of Ferdinand-Edmé's sons became doctors. Francis Silas Chatard (1834–1918), the elder, studied under Dr. Francis Donaldson of Baltimore and obtained his medical degree at the University of Maryland in 1856. After serving two years as intern in the Baltimore Infirmary and as physician at the city Almshouse, he decided to enter the religious life. Dr. Chatard was consecrated Bishop of Vincennes in 1878 and twenty years later was translated to the newly created See of Indianapolis.⁴⁷ His brother, Ferdinand-Edmé, Junior, was graduated Doctor of Medicine from the University of Maryland in 1861. He was elected president of the Clinical Society of Maryland in 1877 and vice-president of the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty in 1878; and was professor of Children's Diseases at the Baltimore Polyclinic.⁴⁸ Ferdinand-Edmé Junior's son, Joseph Albert, and his grandson, Ferdinand Edmé, hold degrees from Johns Hopkins University and are active Baltimore physicians of the present day [1943].⁴⁹

The Ducatels—Edmé-Germain and his son, Jules-Timoleon—also made names for themselves through their medical and scientific interests. Edmé Ducatel (c. 1757–1833) was a native of Auxerre, France, but a resident of St. Domingo before the insurrection. He came to Baltimore and by 1795 had established himself as a druggist and chemist in Baltimore Street. In 1819 he was one of the founders of a short-lived association for the promotion of science. Ducatel married in Baltimore Anne-Catherine Pineau.⁵⁰

Their oldest child, Jules-Timoleon (1796–1849), was educated at St. Mary's College, Baltimore, and in Paris. He returned from abroad to teach natural philosophy at the Mechanics Institute. Ducatel later became professor of Chemistry and Geology on the Faculty of Arts and Sciences of the University of Maryland. He passed to the School of Medicine in 1831 and taught chemistry there until 1837. State Geologist and eventually professor of Chemistry, Mineralogy, and Geology at St. John's College, Annapolis, Dr. Ducatel spent three years on an expedition to the Upper Mississippi and Lake Superior. He was the author of a popular manual on toxicology and was a founder and president of the Maryland Academy of Science and Literature. He died in Baltimore in 1849.⁵¹ A street in that city is named Ducatel.

One of the largest mercantile houses of the country was founded by Jean-Charles-Marie-Louis Pascault, Marquis de Poléon. Pascault was born on his father's plantation in St. Domingo.⁵² He left the island several years prior to the destruction of Le Cap, settled in Baltimore, and, until his death in 1824, "was actively engaged in the transaction of business which suddenly raised Baltimore from obscurity to a high rank in the world."⁵³ In 1789 he married Mary Magdalen Slye of St. Mary's County. By her he had several sons and daughters.

The diary of James Gallatin, son of "The Great Peacemaker" and a young man of fashion, gives a glimpse into the Pascault family circle. It was in Geneva that Gallatin first heard of the Pascaults. Calling with his father on Madame Patterson Bonaparte, he was entertained, one winter afternoon in 1815, with a lively account of Henriette Pascault and of his hostess's introduction to Jerome Bonaparte. Elizabeth Patterson had been invited to a dinner party at the Pascaults' and, having arrived early, was standing by a window with the eldest daughter of the Marquis when two strangers approached the house. "That man will be my husband!" exclaimed Henriette Pascault, pointing to the taller man. "Very well," Miss Patterson replied, "I will marry the other one." "Strangely enough," Madame Patterson Bonaparte informed Gallatin, "we both did as we had said. Henrietta Pascault married Reubell, son of one of the three directors, and I married Jerome Bonaparte. Had I but waited, with my beauty and wit I would have married an English duke, instead of which I married a Corsican blackguard."⁵⁴

When he reached the United States eight years later, James Gallatin went to see Madame Reubell, who had returned to Baltimore after the King of Westphalia had dismissed General Reubell for allowing the Duke of Brunswick, with an inferior army, to defeat him.⁵⁵ Henriette Reubell was then living with her father in what was considered the oldest house in Baltimore. Gallatin was impressed by the iron gates that the Marquis had ordered from Europe and by the "air of refinement about the interior [of the house] that I have never seen out of France." He was even more impressed by Madame Reubell, "who is very handsome." She had a daughter and two sons, "the youngest, Frederic, is the handsomest young man I have ever seen. He must be about seventeen."⁵⁶

On his second visit Gallatin met Louis Pascault. "I am quite off my head [he wrote]. Monsieur Pascault, who is the Marquis de Poléon, is a gentleman of the old régime. . . . He received me with the most wonderful courtesy—tapped a beautiful gold snuff-box and offered it to me. The supper quite simple but served on beautiful silver. Everything had the air of the greatest refinement. I thought myself back in France again."⁵⁷

Gallatin soon found himself in love with the youngest daughter of the house. His suit progressed and Josephine Pascault consented to become his wife; but, he wrote in January, 1824, "I fear there is going to be delay with regard to our marriage. Josephine is a Catholic, and that is one thing father is adamant about. He will not allow (if we have any children) that they should be brought up in that religion."⁵⁸ In other respects, however, Albert Gallatin deemed the alliance acceptable. A descendant of dour Calvinist syndics and counsellors, he was dazzled by the elegant mode of living in this Catholic household. ". . . I noticed his astonishment," James recorded, "at the fine plate, also the quantities of family portraits, &c. &c."⁵⁹

By March the difficulty was overcome. The refusal of Archbishop Maréchal to perform the marriage if a Protestant ceremony was to follow, so "disgusted" Pascault that he informed the prelate he would dispense with the services of the Church and have his daughter married by a Protestant bishop. Further to annoy Maréchal, he added that a wife's first duty was to obey her husband. The Archbishop responded by excommunicating Pascault.⁶⁰

During the eight years following his marriage, Gallatin was engaged in surveying and in selling lands in Ohio and in western Virginia. With the capital realized on his ventures, he established a brokerage firm in New York. In 1838 he succeeded his father as president of the Gallatin National Bank, and held that position for thirty years.⁶¹

According to Gallatin, Eleanor, the second daughter of Louis Pascault, was—"very beautiful like a full-blown rose, but seems to have but little brain or education." She was the wife of Christopher Columbus O'Donnell, heir of an East Indian merchant nabob and himself a figure of importance in the financial world of Baltimore. Their children married into the Hillen, Lee, Carroll, and Jenkins families of Baltimore and into the Iselin family of New York.⁶²

Two of Pascault's sons reached maturity. Francis, the younger, settled in Anne Arundel County and died there in 1827. Louis Charles (1790–1882), a captain in the Mexican War, married Ann E. Goldsborough and moved to Talbot County. His ten children left many descendants on the Eastern Shore.⁶³

In the western part of the state, Frederick Town became a Mecca for Creole dancing masters and teachers. In August, 1793, Messrs. O'Duhigg and Large, "lately arrived in this Town, from St. Domingo," opened a dancing school at Mr. Sturm's in Patrick Street.⁶⁴ Louis-Sebastian-Charles Saint-Martin de Bellevue, a former

planter of the Isle à Vâche, in the Southern District of St. Domingo, who had enjoyed a legal and political career on the Island, taught French in the County Academy. He died in Frederick Town in 1805, of a complaint contracted while serving in the Royalist Army.⁶⁵ Fifteen years later, F. Marcilly, a lawyer and magistrate of St. Domingo, moved to Frederick Town from Emmitsburg, where he had been professor of French at Mount St. Mary's Seminary, and advertized for pupils in the *Frederick-Town Herald*.⁶⁶

An important Creole family, the Bellumeau de la Vincendière, struck roots in Frederick County. Marguerite-Elisabeth Pauline, wife of Étienne-Bellumeau de la Vincendière, was the daughter of Gabriel-Michel de Magnan, sometime Treasurer of the Marine, by Marie-Françoise de Sterlin, a St. Domingan of British descent. She was born on the Island and married a planter of St. Jérôme de la Petite Rivière parish. Madame Bellumeau was in France at the time of the Revolution. She and her two youngest daughters managed to emigrate through the good offices of her husband's cousin, Jean Payen Boisneuf, also a native of St. Domingo. Defrauded of her savings by a land-shark, Madame Bellumeau accepted the continued support of her relative and in 1798 settled at the Hermitage, a thousand-acre plantation on the Monocacy River near Frederick Town, which Boisneuf had purchased in her daughter's name. There Madame Bellumeau was joined by her married daughter, Marie-Pauline Dugas de Vallon, who with her husband and children had wandered the length of the Atlantic seaboard since their escape from St. Domingo. Payen Boisneuf died at the Hermitage in 1815. Madame Bellumeau lived four years longer.⁶⁷ One of her daughters became the wife of Pierre-Nicolas-Simard, Chevalier de Petray, and returned to France; another, Émerentienne, married Captain John R. Corbaley, of the United States Army; and a third, Victoire-Pauline-Marie-Gabrielle, remained unmarried. After selling the Hermitage, Victoire Vincendière moved into a house she owned in Second Street, Frederick Town, and died there in 1854.

Madame Bellumeau's youngest daughter, Adelaïde, was married in 1810 to Lieutenant Samuel Adams Lowe, a graduate of West Point. Their only son, Enoch Louis, was born at the Hermitage in 1820. He entered St. John's College in Frederick Town and completed his studies in England under the Jesuits at Stonyhurst. On his return to Maryland, Lowe became the Democratic leader of the western counties. He was elected to the House of Delegates in 1845, and at the age of thirty took office as Maryland's thirty-second governor. In 1857 he refused the post of minister extraordinary and plenipotentiary to China. A southern sympathizer, Lowe moved to Augusta, Georgia, in 1861 and remained there, the guest of the Dugas family, until peace was declared. He died in Brooklyn in 1892.⁶⁸ His children shared the ardent Catholicism of Governor Lowe. One daughter became a religious of the Sacred Heart, while two others married into the devout Jenkins family of Baltimore.⁶⁹

Freemasonry had flourished in St. Domingo, and the refugees re-established

several of their lodges in American ports. To Baltimore a band of Masons from Cap-François brought a Chartered Chapter of the Rite Rose Croix de Hérédome under the distinctive title of La Vérité. Records, jewels, and a full treasury had been saved from the Negroes and these the brethren installed in their lodge house at the head of Calvert Street Wharf.⁷⁰

Members of La Vérité applied to the Grand Lodge of Maryland for a Dispensation to open a Lodge working the symbolic degrees. The request was granted and in 1794 the brethren received a Warrant to work according to the Ancient York Rite. Their distinctive title was Veritas Sancti Johannes. Edmé Ducatel was master of the lodge.⁷¹ Because of the political tension between the United States and France, Veritas Sancti Johannes returned its charter to the Grand Lodge in 1798.

A number of years later former members of the French lodge organized Les Frères Réunis Number Sixty-Eight. In 1822 it was resolved "that the language of this Lodge should be English instead of French, as heretofore," and the name was changed to King David's Number Sixty-Eight.⁷²

The refugees from St. Domingo greatly strengthened the Catholic Church in Maryland, for there were clerics and hundreds of zealous laymen in the emigration.⁷³ Several Creole priests were assigned to country parishes. Adrien Cibot became pastor of Bohemia Manor and Marcel-Guillaume Pasquet de Leyde, "former almoner of the government and of the general hospital of Port-au-Prince," was assigned to Deer Creek. At St. Peter's Church, Baltimore, Père Jean-François Moranvillé, a missionary of the Holy Ghost who had fled from the Revolution in Guyanne, preached a sermon in French daily at the eight o'clock Mass.⁷⁴

To judge by the number of French entries on the parish registers it would seem that the St. Domingans doubled the Catholic population of Baltimore. Among the refugees buried in St. Peter's Churchyard were: Nicolas O'Rourke, son of Patrick and Marie-Angèle-Renée (de Veteaux) O'Rourke, captain of the Walsh Regiment; Nicolas-François-Just Michel, a native of Fontainebleau, "late Notary General of the Western Part of St. Domingo," who died at Fell's Point in August, 1795; de la Perrière, a native of Chamberry, Savoy, and a surgeon of Petit-Goave, St. Domingo; and Anne-Josephine de Laprade, wife of the commander of artillery and adjutant general of the southern part of St. Domingo, who died in 1799.⁷⁵

In spite of the French Minister's failure to contribute to the support of the first émigrés, it must not be thought that the French Government lost interest in the refugees once they set foot on American soil. Consuls and vice-consuls throughout the country demanded that the St. Domingans declare the date of their emigration and register the births and deaths in their families. Republicans were asked to apprise newcomers of these formalities "qui ne sont point des formes nouvelles, elles sont au contraire très anciennes, sous l'Ancien Régime. Elles sont trop utiles pour devoir être négligées sous le nouveau."⁷⁶ This explanation, no doubt, was intended to allay the fears of the Royalists.

Notices appeared in the local press informing those French citizens "who have continued faithful to the Republic and who desire to return to their own firesides" that the consul in New York would defray the cost of their passage home.

A few of the Creoles in Maryland accepted the consul's offer, but their departure made little difference to the St. Domingan community. Refugees continued to be married to each other by French priests and their shops and schools were to thrive on American patronage for many years to come.

The restoration of the Bourbons, however, drew off the leaders of the Baltimore colony. Those who remained conformed more and more to American cultural patterns and with the Anglicization of the French lodge in 1822, the St. Domingans made no further effort to maintain themselves as a separate group. But the influence that the refugees had exerted in educational, artistic and professional fields furnished a leaven, the results of which, although not subject to measurement, left a definite impress on Maryland.

NOTES

1. For the best account of the political and social upheaval in St. Domingo, see T. Lothrop Stoddard, *The French Revolution in San Domingo* (Boston and New York, 1914).
2. *Maryland Journal*, July 12, 1793.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 11, 1793.
6. *Maryland Journal*, July 12, 1793.
7. *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1793.
8. *Maryland Gazette and Frederick-Town Weekly Advertiser*, July 25, 1793.
9. *Maryland Journal*, August 27, 1793.
10. *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 15, 1793.
11. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1793.
12. *Ibid.*, July 18, 1793.
13. *Maryland Journal*, July 23, 1793.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 15, 1793.
16. *Maryland Journal*, July 19, 1793.
17. *Ibid.*, July 26, 1793.
18. *Ibid.*
19. *The Washington Spy* (Hagerstown), December 9, 1793.
20. *Columbian Centinel* (Boston), December 18, 1793.
21. Thomas Hart Benton, *Abridgement of the Debates of Congress, from 1789 to 1836* (New York, 1857), 1:462.
22. *Ibid.*, 463.
23. *Annals of the Congress of the United States, Third Congress* (Washington, 1849), 1417.
24. *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 13, 1793.
25. *City Gazette and Daily Advertiser* (Charleston, South Carolina), August 8, 1793.

26. *Maryland Journal*, August 20, 1793.
27. Berquin-Duvallon, *Vue de la colonie espagnole du Mississipi, ou des provinces de Louisiane et Floride occidentale, en l'année 1802, par un observateur résident sur les lieux* (Paris, 1803), 230–35.
28. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of Baltimore City and County* (Philadelphia, 1881), 82, 83.
29. Célestin N. Moreau, *Les Prêtres émigrés français aux États-Unis* (Paris, 1856), 175, 176.
30. Information supplied by Mr. William B. Marye of Baltimore. Fleury's marriage is recorded in the Register of St. John's Parish, Joppa, Baltimore County (transcript in the library of the Maryland Historical Society).
31. *Maryland Journal*, July 30, 1793.
32. *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 25, 1793.
33. *Ibid.*, August 2, 1793.
34. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1793.
35. *Ibid.*, August 5, 1793.
36. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1793.
37. *Ibid.*, August 3, 1793.
38. *Maryland Journal*, July 23, 1793.
39. *Baltimore Daily Advertiser*, July 16, 1793.
40. *Ibid.*, August 5, 1793.
41. See the Directors' Book (1796–1809) and the Minute Book (1809–1824) of the Library Company of Baltimore (manuscript volumes in the possession of the Maryland Historical Society).
42. Eugene Fauntleroy Cordell, M.D., *The Medical Annals of Maryland, 1799–1899* (Baltimore, 1903), 348, 349.
43. *Federal Gazette*, July 25, 1797.
44. Cordell, *op. cit.*, 40, 41.
45. *Ibid.*, 704.
46. J. Thomas Scharf, *History of the Confederate States Navy* (New York, 1887), 708, 709 n.
47. See Richard J. Purcell's sketch of Bishop Chatard, *Dictionary of American Biography*, IV (New York, 1930), 39.
48. Cordell, *op. cit.*, 348.
49. Henry M. Hyde, "For 126 Years City has had a Dr. Chatard," *Baltimore Evening Sun*, June 15, 1926.
50. City Directories; J. Thomas Scharf, *The Chronicles of Baltimore* (Baltimore, 1874), 395.
51. Cordell, *op. cit.*, 383.
52. "An interesting sidelight upon the sojourn of the Pascualts in Santo Domingo is contributed by a letter (February 6, 1924) from Count Jean de Sayve, who married Aileen O'Donnell [great grand-daughter of Louis Pascault] in which he states that his sister-in-law the Marquise de Sayve (*née* de Poléon Saint Georges) had shown him her family genealogy which sets forth that a certain Marquis de Poléon had last been heard of in Santo Domingo in the 18th century. All trace of him having been lost his brother assumed the title in France. This brother left no sons and the son of his daughter, the Marquise de Saint Georges, added the Poléon name to his own resulting in the present patronymic de Poléon Saint Georges." E. Thornton-Cook, *John O'Donnell of Baltimore; His Forebears & Descendants* (London, 1934), 56.
53. *American*, June 2, 1824.
54. *A Great Peace Maker, the Diary of James Gallatin, Secretary to Albert Gallatin, 1813–1827* (New York, 1914), 62.
55. Philip W. Sargeant, *Jerome Bonaparte* (New York, 1909), 250, 251.

56. Gallatin, *op. cit.*, 246.
57. *Ibid.*
58. *Ibid.*, 249.
59. *Ibid.*
60. *Ibid.*, 249, 250.
61. William Hunt, *The American Biographical Sketch Book* (New York, 1849), 139.
62. Thornton-Cook, *op. cit.*
63. *Portrait and Biographical Record of the Eastern Shore of Maryland* (New York and Chicago, 1898), 676–78.
64. *Maryland Gazette, and Frederick-Town Weekly Advertiser*, August 1 and August 8, 1793.
65. *Frederick-Town Herald*, November 23, 1805.
66. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1820.
67. A sketch of the Bellumeau de la Vincendière family was written by Caroline de Petray Begouen for her cousin, Adelaide Lowe Jenkins. A copy is in the possession of Miss Grace A. Dugas of Baltimore.
68. *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, IX (New York, 1899), 305.
69. George Norbury Mackenzie, *Colonial Families of the United States of America*, II (Baltimore, 1911), 46.
70. Edward T. Schultz, *History of Freemasonry in Maryland . . .* (4 vols., Baltimore, 1884–1886), 1:201, 202.
71. *Ibid.*, 2:173.
72. *Ibid.*, 2:383, 384.
73. That some Americans viewed this increase of the Catholic body with disfavor is attested by the following quotation, which appeared in the *Maryland Journal* of August 23, 1793, and which was printed in French in the issue of August 30:
“Let foreigners . . . who are not of the communion of the Church of England, or Protestant Episcopal Church, be told, by their candid and well-informed friends,
“1. That they will be considered as *Dissenters* by our laws, and may of course expect a treatment corresponding with the inferiority of that subordinate character.
“2. That their churches, and other congregational property, will have no more protection than if they were Mahometan mosques, or Pagan temples, while the churches, and parochial property of the Protestant Episcopal, enjoy the additional security of particular laws, which incorporate their vestries, enabling them to hold, protect, and defend the premises, for the use and benefit of that highly-favored denomination.”
74. John Gilmary Shea, *Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll, Bishop of Baltimore* (New York, 1888), 454; *Cathedral Records: from the Beginning of Catholicity in Baltimore to the Present Time* (Baltimore, 1906).
75. Transcripts of the early parish registers of St. Peter’s Church are owned by the Maryland Historical Society.
76. See *The Georgia Gazette* (Savannah), March 27, 1794.

Book Reviews

Lost Towns of Tidewater Maryland. By Donald G. Shomette. (Centreville, Maryland: Tidewater Publishers, 2000. 384 pages. Appendix, notes, index. \$36.95 cloth.)

Lost Towns of Tidewater Maryland is Donald Shomette's third volume, emphasizing the author's abiding interest in the War of 1812 in the Chesapeake region. The towns in question are 130 towns which were decreed to be established, variously by the Lord Proprietor and General Assembly between 1668 and 1751. Most of these towns failed or, except on paper, were never created. The author opts to discuss ten of these in detail as a representative sample. However, fewer than 10 percent is not truly representative and, of these, three (30 percent) do not fit his stated criteria. Frenchtown, at the head of the bay, was never one of the "created" towns, and the twin towns of Georgetown and Fredericktown, facing one another across the Sassafras River, were not lost. Although they were severely damaged during the War of 1812, they still exist. These three constitute the only examples from the Eastern Shore. Overall, town choices appear to be somewhat arbitrary or are generally based on the author's interest in their relationship to the War of 1812.

Shomette makes a concerted effort to balance the interests of both professional and popular audiences. The former tends to criticize his use of outdated hypotheses and lack of more recent research. The latter, expecting to read about ghost towns of the Chesapeake, full of colorful characters and anecdotes, will find this work rather dry and academic. While he does perpetuate some common myths and lore, the author takes pains to debunk others. There are interesting narrative sketches, accounts, and reminiscences that illustrate the considerable amount of research Shomette has done, but these are not so much interwoven as tacked onto the relevant sections.

The locations of the towns are problematic, occasionally empirically, generally just in the text description. On the one hand most are on private property, and it is unlikely the current owners would wish to contend with curious trespassers or artifact thieves. On the other hand, providing detailed measurements from tree to tree, or references to compass directions on creeks and rivers that, themselves change directions several times, is superfluous without more detailed regional maps. There is only one over-arching map of the Chesapeake. The towns that appear, inconveniently, at the end of the volume, are difficult to place on the landscape without some intermediary maps. There are, however, very detailed plat maps of individual towns and lots in the appropriate chapters. In fairness to the author, this may reflect editorial decisions. In previous books, Shomette has

been required to cut pages to maintain a size-to-cost ratio acceptable to the publisher; resulting in difficult choices regarding both text and images. One apparent attempt to retain content in this book is the reduced point size of the type, but it makes reading more difficult.

That each chapter is written as a stand alone piece with lengthy litanies of commissioners, postmasters, and other old and founding families, indicates that Shomette is aware that his strongest audience will be found in county historical and genealogical societies. These groups will not only know the local geography, sites, and placenames, they will have an enduring interest in the minutiae of who bought, sold, or traded which lots to whom. These same readers are quite possibly descendants of the historical players. He also appears to recognize that these groups will only read the chapter or chapters that relate to the town or towns in their area. Consequently, much of the introductory information about the proclamations, edicts, acts, and so forth—establishing the towns and managing trade, as well as references to military actions and other events—are repeated in each chapter. Unfortunately, it also means that opportunities to cross-reference individuals, land ownership, and other historic activities more tightly between towns and chapters, are lost.

The chapters on Port Tobacco and Frenchtown are especially interesting and contain much information not previously published by the author. The endnotes reflect the extensive research undertaken by Shomette and provide a fount of information regarding available primary sources and their disposition. Researchers of the history of Maryland's tidewater region will want this volume on their shelves as a useful reference tool.

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The Early Modern Atlantic Economy. Edited by John J. McCusker and Kenneth Morgan. (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2000. 382 pages. Notes, index. \$59.95.)

The thirteen essays in this volume represent the latest theoretical and interpretive approaches to the early modern Atlantic economy. Intended to honor the work of leading economic historian Jacob M. Price, this collection of essays successfully aims to throw "new light on the interlocking commercial relationships of the Atlantic trading world" (i) between 1500 and 1800. The essays, mostly based on original research and focused on the British and French experiences, are organized into four main themes: the role of merchants and their connections, the development of trades, imperial economies, and colonial working societies.

Peter Mathias and Kenneth Morgan examine the role of merchants in the working of the Atlantic economy with a particular emphasis on the centrality of

personal connections in facilitating trade in a high-risk environment. Those with solid reputations were deemed “creditworthy” (28) and could use their personal and familial relationships to gain access to credit. As business networks developed and matured across the Atlantic, businessmen on both sides could use the “moral credit” (30) they had established through regular dealings to call in favors during lean times, gain increased market knowledge through correspondence, visits, and tours, and dictate the quality and specifications of trade goods. As the Atlantic economy matured during the second half of the eighteenth century, personal connections became increasingly important and reveal “a growing interdependence of businessmen” (61) in the export trade—not only in port cities but also in inland areas.

Six authors contributed to the core section of the collection on the development of trade. Henry Roseveare and Louis M. Cullen utilize a case study approach. Roseveare examines the impact of the lucrative Atlantic trade on London through the conflict between wharf owners and managers and the city’s merchants. This conflict represented the challenges London faced in maintaining its role as the prime British port during the eighteenth century. Cullen investigates the life of Irish businessman and French courtier Thomas Sutton, whose experiences demonstrate the significance of extensive and far-flung personal relationships for business success. Although Cullen’s piece highlights some interesting new avenues of research on the residence and networks of Irish businessmen living abroad, it suffers from a complex prose style that reduces its readability and its impact in the collection.

David Hancock, Russell Menard, Carole Shammas, and John McCusker each analyze the development of the Atlantic trade through the lens of particular trade commodities, allowing them to define the way the Atlantic trade worked over large geographies and chronologies. Focusing on the distribution of Madeira wine over the eighteenth century, Hancock offers a different interpretive model than the centralized “hub-and-spoke model of transatlantic distribution” usually used in analyses of sugar: “a ‘spider-web’ trade with lines of correspondence going in every direction,” more representative of a trade that was “decentralized, opportunistic and specific” (107). Hancock’s essay presents one of the best efforts to define “how and why [the] Atlantic world actually worked” (106). McCusker investigates the evolution of the distilling industry, which became such a profitable business by the second half of the eighteenth century that crown efforts to regulate it helped spark the American Revolution. Together, Hancock’s and McCusker’s articles show that the colonial alcoholic products, and the tropical produce with which they were made (particularly sugar), created a “commercial infrastructure,” (142), a “wine culture,” (150), and carried significant long-term political implications for European empires. Menard, in a brief and reflective piece, explores the contours of the commercial infrastructure and political implications through a

comparison of the sugar economies of Brazil and Barbados in the seventeenth century. The supportive legal system of Barbados made credit more readily available to planters, allowing them to purchase additional slaves and consolidate their landholdings. This centralized approach to plantation management and sugar production gave the upper hand to Barbados in the sugar trade. Shammass broadens the scope of all of these pieces to question the very identity of the European political entities involved in the Atlantic world: were they nation states or empires? Shammass makes an effective argument for empire and successfully identifies the main economic activities of these European empires as the "cultivation and trade of a small group of tropical groceries and one textile . . . [that allowed Europe to dominate] global affairs for two hundred years. The groceries were tobacco, tea, coffee, chocolate and sugar . . . [and] printed cotton" (169).

The articles in the last two sections, "Imperial Economies" and "Colonial Working Societies," seem less coherent and broadly focused than the others. Stanley Engerman's article comparing the economic growth of France and England and their North American colonies fits in with the articles in Part II. Engerman sees important explanations for their respective developments in their climates and choices of crops. New France's northern climate proved a disadvantage to France's economic development, a situation that was worsened after France lost Saint Domingue and, more importantly, failed to reestablish trade after the Haitian Revolution. Patrick K. O'Brien and François Crouzet both analyze British economic policy at the end of the early nineteenth century. O'Brien's piece fits well with the analyses of merchant activities in Part I and builds on the development of trade idea by analyzing the effects of wartime policies on the Atlantic economy. Similarly, Crouzet takes on the same period in British and Atlantic world history; he finely develops the theme raised in some of the earlier articles of the competition between the core and peripheries—and notes how that competition continued even after the colonies began achieving their independence.

The final section on "Colonial Working Societies" features two articles on the Chesapeake region, by Lois Green Carr and Richard Dunn. Carr investigates the standard of living of eighteenth-century British immigrants and finds that all but the poorest would have experienced similar life expectancies and physical comforts in the Chesapeake as they did in the mother country—a situation that differed markedly from the seventeenth century. Dunn examines how leading Chesapeake planters, exemplified by John Tayloe III of Virginia, made the transition from tobacco to wheat and grains after the American Revolution. Economic shifts at the time had major implications for slave labor patterns in the Upper South and necessitated that planters find alternative ways to employ or dispose of their "excess" slaves. Changing an earlier interpretation, Dunn concludes that such adaptability demonstrates "an aggressively entrepreneurship style" (362). This section is merited by the high quality of scholarship presented by these two eminent eco-

conomic historians; however, it is clearly not representative of all colonial societies.

Together, these essays highlight a number of important themes in the study of the early modern Atlantic economy. Personal relationships were central to business success and opportunity. Sugar and products made with sugar exerted great influence on the economies and politics of numerous European powers. While stopping short of advocating staples theory, most of the authors clearly see the centrality of certain crops in shaping the settlement and economic development of the colonies. Consumer demand was as important as government policies and merchant business techniques in shaping the workings of the Atlantic economy. Competition existed not only between European empires but also between individual European governments and their colonies over control of the trade. In addition, different colonies of the same mother country often lobbied against one another to further their own interests. Over time, private investors and European governments built increasingly sophisticated political, policy, commercial, and financial structures to facilitate the trade and meet the needs of all involved. While Europe clearly shaped life in the colonies, the colonies had an equally important impact on the development of Europe itself.

This volume offers scholars and students of the Atlantic world a useful introduction to some of the main thinking in the field by some of the most prominent scholars working in it. Various authors mention opportunities for new research along the way, inviting a continued dialogue on the issues raised in the book. One of its strengths—one of the strengths of the Atlantic world model more generally—is the way that it brings together scholars of different periods and places who are all working on the same questions from different perspectives. While likely above most undergraduates' level, the volume will be critical reading for graduate students in early American or early modern European history.

LAURA CROGHAN KAMOIE
American University

Catholicism at the Millennium: The Church of Tradition in Transition. Edited by Gerald L. Miller and Wilburn T. Stancil. (Kansas City, Mo.: Rockhurst University Press, 2001. 256 pages. Index. \$35.)

Catholicism at the Millennium is a volume that developed out of a sequence of weekly lectures to students and the public at large on the state of the Roman Catholic Church in the year 2000. A cooperative effort on the part of faculty members at Rockhurst University in Kansas City, Missouri, a Catholic institution under the auspices of the Jesuits, the book considers the Catholic Church from the perspective of such diverse areas as history, philosophy, ethics, literature, sociology, economics, music, biology, and theology. Though written by academics, all of whom appear to be Catholic, the articles are "popular style works," which,

nonetheless, may prove informative reading for both knowledgeable Catholics and those profoundly interested in various fundamental issues of Catholicism.

The editors—Gerald L. Miller, an economist, and Wilburn T. Stancil, a theologian—have divided their book into five subdivisions: Faith and History, Truth and Belief, Church and Culture, Social Justice, and Contemporary Concerns. This methodology has produced some noteworthy scholarly abstracts, such as the nature of Catholic history and the interplay of reason and faith as an essential feature in the Catholic view of human experience.

“Cold, Bare Ruined Choirs?” *Reflections on the Nature of Catholic History*,” by the historian Richard J. Janet, is an insightful appraisal of the elements of “a genuinely Catholic history,” by which the author means a sensibility toward the past or, better still, a “cultivated sense of moral imagination” (16): cultivated in its insistence on solid effort and constant attention, moral in its appreciation of the spiritual grounding and purpose of corporal existence, and imaginative in its struggle to find the common elements linking events across time and cultures. The philosopher Brendan Sweetman’s “Reason and Religion at the Millennium” focuses on religious belief in general as a feature of human experience, particularly its dealings with secularism and other movements in contemporary thought. Believing that Catholicism is most definitely under attack, he, nevertheless, concurs with Pope John Paul II, and principally that pope’s encyclical *Fides et Ratio*, that the Church has the resources to deal with its critics because it possesses “the most reasonable world view” and, therefore, can sustain itself philosophically (38). An absorbing study on Catholic philosophy, “The Perennial Philosophy: A Tonic for What Ails Us,” by Curtis L. Hancock, the Joseph M. Freeman Professor of Philosophy at Rockhurst, identifies Catholic thought since St. Augustine’s *fides quaerens intellectum* (faith seeking understanding) as a philosophical tradition that can furnish the most excellent foundation for education because it is the most competent resource now available for synthesizing the principles and values of modern pluralism, thereby assisting the student in discerning what is best in modern thought while avoiding “its disorienting elements” (55).

In addition to these exceptional overviews of the principles of Catholic thought Professor Miller’s “Catholic Social Teaching at the Millennium: The Human Condition in Light of the Gospel” is possibly the best concise synopsis (under twenty pages) of the main themes of a century and a half of Catholic social teaching, “the needs of all humans in light of the Gospel,” known to me (137). Timothy L. McDonald’s chapter on the history of Catholic liturgical music and its contemporary expressions, although a highly rarified piece, is a closely researched appraisal that discloses that the Catholic Church, at least in the United States, is “clearly not following the instructions of the conciliar [Vatican II] and postconciliar documents” (164).

All in all *Catholicism at the Millennium* offers an introspective and engaging

conversation among American Catholic intellectuals, academics at a Midwestern Jesuit university, whose “snapshots” of the Church in the year 2000 will absorb the perceptive reader in the ongoing debates within Catholicism about faith, reason, and culture.

JOSEPH S. ROSS1, S.J.
Loyola College

George Washington Reconsidered. Edited by Don Higginbotham. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 2001. 336 pages. Paper, \$18.50.)

In *George Washington Reconsidered*, Don Higginbotham has successfully brought together in one handy volume some of the finest contributions in recent Washingtonian scholarship. This latest book on George Washington is the first of its kind in over thirty years.

In 1969, James Morton Smith published a collection of essays entitled *George Washington: A Profile*. Smith’s selections, unlike those chosen by Higginbotham, focused mainly on Washington’s public life. Higginbotham’s departure from this more traditional line of inquiry is the book’s weakness as well as its strength. With the exception of Joseph Ellis’s essay, the reader misses out on some of the forces and key developments that shaped Washington’s presidency: diplomatic maneuvering abroad and on the home front, American politics within a developing republican political culture, and the federal government’s policy toward the American Indians. The last point is especially surprising because several of the contributing authors recognize that Washington maintained throughout his life a personal and political interest in the West. In the end, however, Higginbotham’s decision to look at the man himself enlightens the reader not only about Washington, but also about architecture, culture, family, politics, slavery, and war in early America. Since Washington was a man of his era, albeit an extraordinary one, the reader soon realizes that Washington the General, Washington the Planter, Washington the Slaveholder, Washington the Architect, Washington the President, and Washington the Man, all serve as gateways into the eighteenth century.

The book contains fifteen essays (including the introduction and the afterword). The publication dates of previously published articles and chapters that are included in this volume span several decades. Higginbotham divides the essays into three self-explanatory sections: The Virginia Localist, The American Nationalist, and Images of the Man. Like a builder, the editor has arranged the essays in such a way that each contribution builds the human edifice that is Washington. While it is clear that the contributing authors admire Washington, they do not slip into hagiography. The essays are scholarly yet engaging and deserve to find a wide audience.

This book will appeal to both scholar and general reader. The focus of each

essay invites the specialized student of Maryland history to investigate this work for what he or she can learn about life in the Chesapeake region. Furthermore, since the book's essays explore topics that range from the roots of the Washington family in America to the views Washington held of the afterlife, this book is a must starting point for any aspiring Washington scholar. Moreover, there is much to recommend this book to the general reader who is interested in Washington and the early American experience. Not only has the editor's choice of essays skillfully contextualized Washington's life, but the breadth of discussion contained within these pages takes the reader on a journey through the founding period of the United States. Since Washington was involved in the defining events of his day—the American Revolution, the Constitutional Convention, and the establishment of the federal government—the general reader will leave this book with not only a better understanding of its subject, but also of late eighteenth-century America.

Contemporaries and historians concur that Washington embodied the American Revolution and was the only person who could keep the United States united while it established itself as a nation. The reputation that he had earned during the War for Independence enabled Washington to take on this momentous role. His goal for the rest of his life was to maintain his well-earned reputation as an honorable and trustworthy man. After reading these essays, it is clear that Washington achieved the reputation that he so much desired. He did so because he had character, or more precisely, moral character. This attribute, as Gordon Wood argues in this volume, was the key to his greatness. How well he succeeded was evident in his own day, and remains so in our own. It is clear from this work, and from the public's continued interest in George Washington, that this thoroughly eighteenth-century man remains, at the dawn of the twenty-first century, "first in the hearts of his countrymen."

CHRISTOPHER J. YOUNG
University of Illinois at Chicago

Time Full of Trial: The Roanoke Island Freedmen's Colony, 1862–1867. By Patricia C. Click. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001. 325 pages. Appendixes, notes, index. \$49.95 cloth; \$18.95 paper.)

One of the least studied aspects of the Civil War remains the experience of civilian refugees. By a conservative estimate, roughly half a million former slaves left their antebellum homes during the war. Most became dependent on the armed forces of the United States for protection and subsistence, offering their labor, their loyalty, and often their lives in exchange. Patricia Click's fine study of the refugee camp at Roanoke Island, North Carolina, offers valuable insight into this

poorly understood subject, which, in the end involved a much broader cast of characters than military officials and freedpeople and a much richer narrative of events than the mere dispensation of alms.

Although similar to scores of other contraband camps, Roanoke Island nonetheless deserves attention, not least for its determined superintendent, Horace James. A Congregational minister with strong ties to the American Missionary Association, James held commissions successively as an army chaplain, a captain in the army quartermaster's department, and a Freedmen's Bureau agent before leaving government service late in 1865. As superintendent, James established the administrative framework for the camp's operation. Refusing to view his charges simply as objects of charity, he desired to make them self-supporting. To this end, he provided space for gardens, promoted commercial fishing, and built a steam sawmill. As spiritual leader, James ministered to the educational and religious needs of the freedpeople. He arranged for the construction of schools and the assignment of nearly a dozen teachers to the island. Among these was his cousin, Elizabeth Havard James, whom he described as "a clear headed warm hearted and very energetic girl, about 40 years old," who left the comforts of Massachusetts for the hardships of North Carolina (82).

The exigencies of war threatened the dream of economic independence almost from the start. Beginning in December 1863 military operations in eastern North Carolina freed hundreds of persons whom federal officials settled on Roanoke Island. Then the following spring, when Confederate forces went on the offensive, federal authorities relocated additional black refugees from the mainland to the island for safety. Such circumstances dictated that giving subsistence to destitute newcomers take precedence over helping established residents achieve self-sufficiency. The Union army's need for soldiers further compromised the quest for economic autonomy, creating additional hardships for the men's families and playing havoc with the missionary schools to boot. Hungry children made poor scholars, and working children had little time and less energy for study. Despite such persistent difficulties, Click views the missionaries' educational work as their "most successful undertaking" (203).

Like other recent scholars, Click notes the cultural imperialist tendencies that the Yankees harbored while not losing sight of the quirkily personal character of their relationships with black southerners and each other. James himself pursued a vision of a "New Social Order," a blend of principles and practices derived from the Bible and the New England village. Samuel and Profinda Nickerson believed so strongly that proper worship required musical accompaniment that they contrived to have a melodeon shipped from New Hampshire to Roanoke Island. A single-minded commitment to the "the total rightness of what they were doing" helped motivate the Yankees, to be sure, but it also clouded their ability to see "that the freedpeople had any cultural heritage of their own" (15) and that "the habits of

middle-class white Northerners" were not the only keys to freedom (104). None of the missionaries deigned to view the former slaves as social equals.

Sources by and about the missionaries understandably drive Click's narrative. The corresponding paucity of material reflecting the thoughts and aspirations of the freedpeople leaves them largely—though not entirely—in the shadows. Intriguing questions remain incompletely explored as a result. Click offers a passing observation, for instance, about the dynamics of social interaction among colonists from disparate backgrounds thrown together by the vagaries of war. Before such strangers could create "economic or political networks," she argues, "they had to forge basic friendship networks" (43). This insight deserves fuller treatment. Such minor shortcomings aside, *Time Full of Trial* makes a signal contribution to understanding the experience of African American refugees during the Civil War.

JOSEPH P. REIDY
Howard University

The Imagined Civil War: Popular Literature of the North and South 1861–1865. By Alice Fahs. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001. 416 pages, Illustrations, notes, index. \$39.95.)

No martial conflict in American history has engaged the American imagination as has the Civil War. Most Americans are familiar with the great battlefields from the war: Bull Run (Manassas), Sharpsburg, Gettysburg, the Wilderness, Shiloh, most of which are now national parks. Likewise, most are more familiar with the biographies of many of the generals, both Federal and Confederate, to an extent that cannot be replicated by any other war. While this epic conflict ended 136 years ago, its causes, its consequences and its principal players continue to be the source of heated debate. As Alice Fahs points out, it "continues to find outlet not just in popular literature, film and television also in the nationwide movement of reenactors, who imagine themselves as individual participants in the war, both part of the war's myriad stories and the creators of new war stories of their own" (311–12).

Fahs' thesis is that from its very beginning the Civil War was a popular "literary" war for all segments of the population, North and South, including women and children. Her focus is not on the battles, or the strategies, or the politicians and the generals. She explores how the war was treated on the homefront in newspapers and magazines, in poems, in fiction, in song—in short, how the popular literature of the period reflected the sentimentality and the sensibilities of wives and mothers, shopkeepers and farmers, dressmakers and common soldiers. The war invited "a diverse spectrum of ordinary people to imagine themselves as part of the conflict." In so doing, she argues, "it democratized the conflict, but only

within a set of constraints related to the conventions of commercial literary culture, including constraints regarding representations of race and gender" (311).

With an eye on the regional patriotism of their readers, publishers and writers were also well aware of the commercial possibilities that the war afforded and sought to capitalize on them. Fahs documents the exchange of letters between publishers and writers as they attempted to balance what they wrote and published with the demands of the market. Of particular interest, for example, is her chapter entitled, "The Market Value of Memory: Histories of the War." Here she chronicles the work of popular historians such as John Abbott, Benson Lossing, and Horace Greeley as they feverishly attempted to write histories of the war years before it ended to meet the public demand for such books.

While the South felt that, with secession, it had severed all ties with the North, it was nonetheless dependent on the North for much of its literary fare since, by the reluctant admission of many southern editors and publishers, it did not have native writers of sufficient reputations to sustain the high literary tradition of the Yankees. In addition, with the blockade of southern ports and the destruction of the railroad, publishers found ink and paper hard to come by.

What helps to make *The Imagined Civil War* of value to the contemporary reader is Fahs' inclusion and treatment of gender and racial issues. In "The Feminized War," she examines the literature (written for and frequently by women) which sentimentalized women, particularly in the South. Women were enjoined to make their contribution to the common cause and to exhibit their love of country through their "domestic" sphere and to accept the loss of husbands, fathers, and sons as a matter of sacrificial patriotism. Published stories of women who volunteered as nurses in military hospitals, or who were spies, or who disguised themselves as men on the battlefield became popular; such stories, however, almost always ended with their heroines casting aside their assumed masculine attire and gracefully accepting traditional gender roles.

John Greenleaf Whittier's popular 1863 ballad "Barbara Frietchie" epitomized the inspirational quality that women could bring to the cause. Whittier based the poem on an apocryphal incident of a woman in Frederick, Maryland, who defied Stonewall Jackson by flying the Union flag even after his men had shot it full of holes:

She leaned far out on the window-sill,
And shook it forth with a royal will.
"Shoot, if you must, this old gray head,
But spare your country's flag," she said. (124)

The experience of blacks during the war is the focus of Chapter 5: Kingdom Coming: The Emancipation of Popular Literature." Here Fahs recounts the his-

tory of the popular image of blacks in American literature and racial politics. In the early years of the war the North and South both rejected the dangerous idea of black men serving as soldiers and sailors, insisting that they were too cowardly to fight. (What lay behind this position, of course, was white repugnance to the idea that in battle black men would kill white men.) In 1863, however, the North began to recruit and train blacks for combat. In the aftermath of the courage demonstrated by the 54th Massachusetts at Fort Wagner, the popular image of black soldiers shifted dramatically and the literary depiction of blacks celebrated their manhood. "How extraordinary, and what a tribute to ignorance and religious hypocrisy," W. E. B. DuBois would write in 1935, that "in the minds of most people, even those of liberals, only murder makes men. The slave pleaded; he was humble; he protected the women of the South, and the world ignored him. The slave killed white men; and behold, he was a man" (169).

Of local interest is Fahs' precis of James R. Randall's "My Maryland," for southerners the most popular song ("for a season") to come out of the war. Randall was a professor of English literature in New Orleans. On the night of April 26, 1861, he could not sleep after he read an account of Massachusetts troops crossing through Baltimore.

"Some powerful spirit appeared to possess me," Randall remembered, and he "rose, lit a candle and went to [his] desk," where "the whole poem was dashed off rapidly" under "what then may be called a conflagration of the senses, if not an inspiration of the intellect." Like numerous other wartime poets, Randall also admitted that a desire for individual recognition fueled his effort: "I was stirred by a desire for some way of linking my name with that of my native State," he said (80).

Fahs' book is a sustained, highly readable, and objectively critical survey of the popular literature of the war years. Her research is impressive, and while her tone is light, it is always respectful of her material. It is a useful study for both the historian and the general reader and provides fresh insight into a field which one would have thought was already exhausted.

JOHN M. GISSENDANNER
Towson University

Millions for Defense: The Subscription Warships of 1798. By Frederick C. Leiner. (Annapolis, Maryland: Naval Institute Press, 2000. 262 pages. Appendix, bibliography, notes, index. \$36.95.)

The United States has occasionally been characterized as having a dualistic personality in which the capitalistic desire for material gain is coupled with a sense

of cultural and patriotic exceptionalism. Americans have generally believed that the two are not mutually exclusive, and that one can simultaneously promote both the interests of the individual and the interests of the community or state.

Frederick C. Leiner suggests that this idea was particularly evident in the early American Republic, when wealthy merchants in major port cities volunteered their money and organizational expertise to build privately funded "subscription" warships to fight the French during the Quasi-War of 1798-1800. Leiner argues that the subscribers, who were predominantly Federalists but also included Republicans, were motivated by two primary considerations: the need to defend American shipping, in which the subscribers had a vested economic interest, and a sense of civic duty, which compelled them to assist the cash-strapped, fledgling U.S. government by augmenting the nation's meager naval forces. Leiner asserts that patriotic civic-mindedness, rather than the profit motive, was the decisive factor. He maintains that the subscribers lived in an era when the roles of the federal government, and the line between public and private responsibility, were not yet clearly defined. Concerned that the government's resources might not be sufficient to defend the country, and aware that their donations would benefit all Americans, including those regions and citizens who offered nothing to the project, the subscribers "voluntarily contributed warships for the national good, highly suggestive of an earlier concept of citizenship" (3).

In playing down the profit motive, Leiner refutes Howard Chapelle's contention that the merchant subscribers were mainly intent on protecting their own financial interests, arguing that increased shipping costs, which accompanied cargo seizures by French privateers, were passed on to consumers in the form of higher prices. Leiner acknowledges the merchants' anxiety that escalating insurance rates might ruin their firms by obliging them to keep their trading vessels in port, but he concludes the point by stating, "What they saw as the national interest—the creation of a navy—neatly coincided with their own" (179).

Although Leiner does not explicitly establish the connection, the "patriotism versus profit" motif he utilizes in assessing the subscribers' motivations subtly informs his treatment of the warships' commanding officers. Effectively appointed by the merchant subscribers, these captains are likewise depicted as having been driven by both a sense of duty to their country and a desire to make money. However, while Leiner credits the merchants with patriotism, he devotes most of his discussion of the vessels' operations to the captains' attempts to earn prize money by capturing French privateers or contraband traders. John Rodgers, of Havre de Grace, commanded the sloop *Maryland*, which, along with the sloop *Patapsco*, was funded by Baltimore's merchant community. Rodgers spent most of the war convoying American merchantmen and complaining about the *Maryland's* lack of opportunities to seize prizes. Leiner also briefly discusses Rodgers' dutiful attempts to enforce U.S. anti-slavery laws. Given the fact that Rodgers himself

owned slaves, he embodies Maryland's paradoxical relationship with the institution of slavery.

Leiner's most intriguing chapter chronicles the activities of George Little and the frigate *Boston*. Little's patriotism and valor during both the Revolution and the Quasi-War are given due attention, but his persistent efforts to win prize money dominate Leiner's account of the *Boston's* war record. The chapter's title, "The Perils of Taking Prizes," refers to Little's legal difficulties in translating ship seizures into prize money, and Leiner's coverage of the Byzantine procedures regarding "lawful prizes" is the book's greatest strength. Leiner, a Baltimore lawyer, deftly weaves legal, political, military, and economic considerations into his discussion of prize adjudications, causing the reader to question the wisdom of affording public servants the opportunity to pursue private gain in the execution of their official duties.

Leiner's book is exhaustively researched, and his writing is generally fluid and engaging, but he sometimes fails to explain the logic underlying his secondary conclusions or assertions, such as his giving credence to one of two contradictory accounts of an incident without justifying its veracity, and his occasional use of arcane sailing terms without defining them might result in some confusion for the general reader. These criticisms, however, are decidedly minor. Leiner's skillful illumination of this little-known episode yields numerous insights into the early U.S. Navy and the nation it served, and will be of great interest and usefulness to any student of naval, American, or Maryland history.

SCOTT F. GRANGER

United States Naval Academy

American Colonies. By Alan Taylor. (The Penguin History of the United States. New York: Viking, 2001. 544 pages. Illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. cloth, \$34.95.)

In his groundbreaking synthesis of recent scholarship on early America, *American Colonies*, Pulitzer Prize-winning historian Alan Taylor seeks to expand the very definition of colonial American history. He draws on studies of the early modern Atlantic world, the transformation of the American environment, and the lives of Native Americans, African Americans, and both British and continental European immigrants to create a master narrative that emphasizes the multiplicity of colonial experience. Taylor also reaches backwards in time, to explore the much-neglected sixteenth century; westward, to incorporate the Great Plains, the Pacific coast, Alaska, and Hawaii into the story of colonization; and eastward, to examine precedents in the Canaries and Azores. Taylor's synthesis reflects a distinctly personal perspective; his interest in Native American, frontier, and economic history is evident, while the social life of African American and British

colonial communities slips into the background. Nevertheless, *American Colonies* is an illuminating and inspiring work, an exciting record of the growing scope and complexity of early American history.

Taylor elegantly synthesizes a vast amount of material on American economic and environmental history from the pre-contact era through the early nineteenth century. In a brief discussion of "ecological imperialism," for example, he shows how the introduction of European plants and animals disrupted Native Americans' existing food supply but also led some communities to adopt new modes of hunting and herding (46-49). Taylor forcefully reminds the reader of Europeans' economic goals for colonization: the West Indies, as "the crown jewels of the English colonial empire" (205), were the focus of much economic and military action, while "New England's surprising economic success generated more envy than admiration" (177), because the region replicated English society rather than producing raw materials to feed English workshops.

Taylor's adept comparison of Spanish, French, English, Dutch, and even Russian colonial policies is another strength of the work. He considers the conquest and colonization of virtually *every* region of North America, whichever European power it fell to and whether or not it eventually became part of the United States. He highlights some critical cultural questions, such as the relative political value of whiteness in the English plantation colonies and French Louisiana (387-388). And he tenders a particularly rich and compelling portrait of diplomatic, military, and economic relations between Native Americans and European Americans. "The middle ground," he writes, "rested on creative misunderstandings" (380). Even perennially popular metaphors, such as the French king as "father" to his "Indian children," carried distinctly different connotations in the respective cultures.

Taylor slights some fields of historical inquiry that have long been central to scholarship on early America, most notably the local social and political history of European settlements. *American Colonies* does offer social historians some tantalizing comparative material, however: Taylor's sketch of New France around 1700, for example, depicts a society superficially similar to that of rural New England, but strikingly different in its origins, demographic composition, and relationship with the imperial government. More troubling is Taylor's fleeting treatment of African and African American culture in the New World. While he vividly delineates the internal diversity of both pre-contact North America and early modern Europe, Taylor says little about early modern West Africa, African American society in North America, and slaves' contacts with Native Americans or European Americans other than their masters. This shortcoming probably reflects the book's bias towards economic history; Taylor offers a vivid account of the trans-Atlantic slave trade and the plantation economies of the West Indies and lower South, but he skims over the social and religious dimensions of early African American history.

American Colonies belongs on the bookshelf of every college-level teacher of early American history. At once scholarly and accessible, it will be an invaluable tool for anyone revamping survey courses to encompass a broader geographic and ethnic perspective. Beginning graduate students and other newcomers to the field will appreciate Taylor's synthesis of a vast range of information and scholarship on early America. A substantial, well-organized bibliographic essay points the way to further reading. Undergraduates and general readers may be daunted by the book's length and its geographic and chronological sweep. Those ambitious enough to tackle it, however, will be richly rewarded, for Taylor does not merely weave his disparate material into a coherent narrative but tells a truly absorbing story of conflict, compulsion, accommodation, and change across the varied regions of North America.

DARCY R. FRYER

The Papers of Benjamin Franklin

Books in Brief

Churches of Somerset County Maryland: Evolving Church Architecture in the Changing Rural Landscape of Somerset County, Maryland, 1660–1993 is Carol F. Jopling's final work. This study of Somerset's ninety standing churches came off press three weeks after the author's death in October 2000. A retired anthropologist and librarian, Joplin incorporated elements of social and cultural history into this heavily architectural book. This work includes dozens of photographs, architectural plans, and maps in addition to a bibliography and glossary of terms.

The Annapolis Publishing Company, paper, \$17.95

Editors Sara B. Bearss, John T. Kneebone, J. Jefferson Looney, Brent Tarter, and Sandra Gioia Treadway have brought to print another volume of their ongoing project, the *Dictionary of Virginia Biography, Volume 2, Bland–Cannon*. This series is a most valuable research tool for librarians, scholars, and the curious time traveler. Selection criteria includes those Virginians who made significant contributions, for example, in government, politics, law, sports, and medicine. The work does not include data on living persons.

The Library of Virginia, cloth, \$49.95

Meredith Tax's *The Rising of Women: Feminist Solidarity and Class Conflict, 1880–1917* is back in print, twenty years after it first appeared as an original and highly complex study of working women and the power struggles they encountered during the progressive era. This book centers on trade union activists, industrial workers, intellectuals, socialists, anarchists, and "radical feminists of every shade from deep red to pale pink." The author states in her new introduction that the enduring contribution of this work is its detailed study of the strategies employed by these women in their struggle for equality in the often harsh and brutal nineteenth-century industrial workplace.

University of Illinois Press, paper, \$18.95

Letters to the Editor

Editor:

2002 is the 250th anniversary of the birth on July 27 of Samuel Smith, Baltimore's leading citizen in the early 1800's and commander-in-chief at the Battle of Baltimore in 1814. Smith was a decorated hero of the Revolution, served in the House of Delegates and after that for 40 years in Congress as a senator and representative. He capped his career by being elected mayor of Baltimore. At 87, shortly after concluding his service as mayor, Samuel Smith died. President Fillmore attended his funeral, which was huge.

Sam Smith seems to be mostly forgotten today. Perhaps it is because he died before philanthropy became popular, so his name is not attached to a large public institution. Some of us think his true legacy is the outcome of the "Second War of American Independence." Gen. Smith's insightful strategy in September 1814 not only saved Baltimore, but (says Walter Lord) changed the course of the treaty negotiations at Ghent and eventually the future of the United States.

We can honor Sam Smith's memory and learn more about Maryland history by recalling the details of his achievements. Perhaps a local historian will submit an article to the *Magazine*.

There is no shortage of topics in Smith's long and colorful life. He survived the Revolution by a lucky accident. In Congress, he played a leading role in adoption of the first reciprocal trade agreements and later in the authorization of the National Road. He showed military strategists how to deploy citizen soldiers effectively against professionals. His unique leadership in business, politics and the military multiplied his productivity.

There are other more personal topics, too. When Smith's business partner bankrupted the firm and left him stone broke at 67, the business community rallied around Sam and helped him recover, but his brother Robert for some reason flatly refused to help. What moved the citizens of Baltimore to draft an 83-year-old as mayor? And then there's the question of how Smith, a militia officer, ended up in command of a group of regular Army and Navy officers in September, 1814. Sam Smith is an early example of the tradition of public spirit, entrepreneurship and personal courage that continues to drive Marylanders today. He deserves special remembrance this year.

Sincerely

Thomas E. Coates

Baltimore

Notices

Women's History and Historians

The Southern Association for Women Historians is currently accepting submissions for its annual publications prizes. The Julia Cherry Spruill Prize is awarded for the best southern women's history book. The Willie Lee Rose Prize goes to the best southern history book authored by a woman. Eligible publications, including anthologies and edited works, must bear a 2001 copyright date.

The SAWH also sponsors the A. Elizabeth Taylor Prize for the best article published during the preceding year in the field of women's history. Editors, scholars, and authors, are invited to nominate articles published between January 1 and December 31, 2001.

Mail four copies of each entry, clearly marked with the name of the prize competition category, to Melissa Walker, Converse College, Department of History and Politics, 580 East Main Street, Spartanburg, S.C., 29302. The submission deadline is April 1, 2002. For additional information contact melissa.walker@converse.edu or phone 864-596-9104.

National History Day Institute

"We Shall Overcome: 100 Years of the Civil Rights Movement" is this year's NHD summer institute project, scheduled July 20–27 in Atlanta, Georgia. Prominent Civil Rights historians will work with secondary school social studies teachers, librarians, and media specialists. Participants will spend the week working with oral and visual sources and touring historic sites. For application information contact Bea Hardy, Outreach and Program Manager, 301-314-9739 or visit the website www.nationalhistoryday.org.

High School Essay and Web Site Contest

"The Constant Guardian . . . Maryland Firefighters and Police in Review" is the theme of this year's Maryland Colonial Society annual high school essay contest. The contest, open to any interested Maryland high school student or class, awards \$150 prizes for best essay, best individual webpage, and best class webpage. Entries are judged by Maryland State Archivist Edward C. Papenfuse and the archives' education staff. Submissions are due March 5, 2002. Winners will be announced at the Maryland Day celebration to be held at the Mitchell Courthouse in Baltimore on Monday March 25. For complete contest rules, visit the Maryland State Archives website at www.mdarchives.state.md.us.

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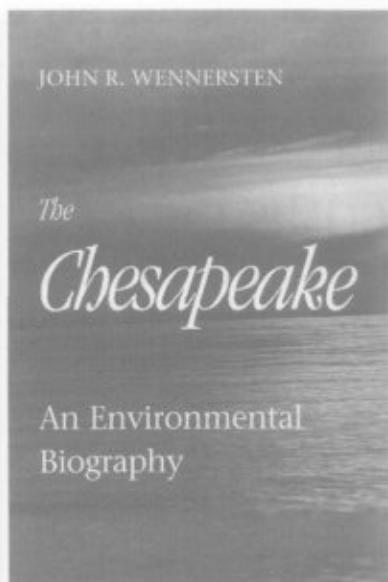
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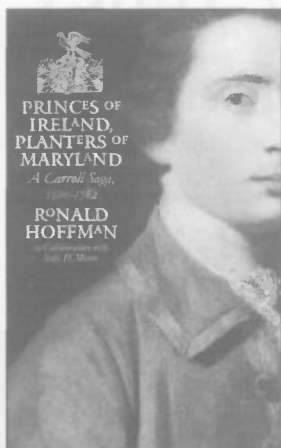
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